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VOLUME IV 1912 NUMBER 1

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CONTENTS.

JANUARIUS A. MACGAHAN . . *Wolter J. Blakely.*

JOURNAL OF JEAN BAPTISTE TRUDEAU AMONG THE ARIKARA INDIANS IN 1795 . *Translated by Mrs. H. T. Beauregard.*

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE LINES IN 1863, *Mrs. Lizzie Chambers Hull.*

LOCAL INCIDENTS OF THE CIVIL WAR, *Mrs. Hannah Isabella Stagg.*

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SANITARY WORK IN ST. LOUIS DURING THE CIVIL WAR . : . *Dr. Roland G. Usher.*

SOME NOTES ON THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF MISSOURI, *Gerard Fowke.*

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR, VI. . *Charles A. Krone.*

NOTES: FRENCH AND SPANISH ARCHIVES. THE EARLY CHURCH REGISTERS. THE LATE DR. WJ MCGEE. THE SOCIETY'S FIRST VENTURE IN BOOK MAKING. THE DEATH OF WALTER J. BLAKELY.

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JANUARIUS A. MACGAHAN.

BY WALTER J. BLAKELY.

(Read at a meeting of the Society, 20 April, 1906.)

In the winter of 1868 a young man threw down his pen in a counting house and left his St. Louis home and his country, to change the political map of Europe and dictate the policy of an empire whose drum beat is heard around the world.

Big words, these, and grandiloquent pretensions, you say, but when I tell you the name of this man and recount his deeds, which were told eagerly in detail in every newspaper in Europe, and remind you that he was the friend of princes, statesmen and generals—men who were making history for a continent—and had been decorated by an emperor for conspicuous bravery upon the battlefield, you will marvel, as I do, why Missouri, the state of his adoption, and St. Louis, his home, allowed Ohio, his native state, to monopolize all the credit and glory that surrounded his name because of his birth and early childhood therein. Jan. A. MacGahan was born June 12, 1844, in Perry County, Ohio, upon a little farm belonging to his parents, adjoining that of the Sheridan family. He came of Irish-American stock, and his father dying when Jan. was in his seventh year, his education devolved upon his mother,

who, out of her slender resources, laid the foundation in the boy's mind and heart upon which his future greatness was builded. Even as Bayard Taylor, in his boyhood, would climb the tallest trees upon his father's farm to look afar upon the world over which he aimed some day to travel, so did Jan. MacGahan, in his mind, rise out of his surroundings and dream and plan, even in his early youth, for the future.

Leaving at last his home, with the consent of his mother, he in a short time drifted to St. Louis, and, impressed by the city and its people, he looked upon it and planned to make it his future home. In order to maintain himself he entered into business life and became a bookkeeper in the wholesale stationery store of John J. Daly & Co., then at the southeast corner of Broadway and Pine street. During the years he was thus occupied he made his mark in business and social circles and impressed his individuality upon all with whom he came in contact to such an extent that a more than ordinarily bright future was predicted for him by all who knew him. Desiring to make the law his profession, he ascertained that he could read American and English law as readily in Brussels as he could in this country and thus, at the same time, see something of Europe and acquire a knowledge of the modern languages. Reaching Europe, he divided his time between Brussels and Paris and absorbed, rather than learned, French, German and Spanish, his quick intellect giving him command over these languages in an incredibly short time. The Franco-Prussian war having arisen, he threw aside his law books, and, after an interview with Dr. Hosmer, the manager of the New York Herald in London, and partly through the influence of Gen. Phil Sheridan, he obtained an appointment as special correspondent with the French armies. He accompanied the commands of Generals Bourbaki and Chanzy and amid many perils, being al-

ways at the front and on the battle line, his letters to the New York Herald were full of absorbing interest and attracted the attention of and were reprinted in the principal newspapers of Europe. The war ending and mutterings of a communist uprising being in the air, Jan. hastened to Paris and reached it in time to be inclosed within the walls and endure, with the commune, the siege which lasted from March 10, 1871, to the beginning of June following. He shared in all the dangers of the siege and was the only correspondent, as might well be supposed, in the troubled city. One of his letters to the Herald, smuggled through the lines, entitled "Out of the Lions' Den," gave the first authentic news to the world from within the walls and was republished from the Herald in every European language. On the entry of McMahon's army into Paris he was on the point of being shot as a communist, and almost at the rifle's muzzle was rescued through the exertions of Hon. E. B. Washburne, then minister to France.

Before proceeding to Paris, he had inaugurated the "interview" system in Europe through a series of brilliant letters detailing conversations with Victor Hugo, Louis Blanc, Archbishop Dupanloup, Gambetta and others, which attracted universal attention and much comment. Leaving Paris, he represented the Herald in various parts of Europe, and also accompanied the party of Gen. Sherman to the Caucasus. When Russia sent an army to Asia under Gen. Kaufman to conquer Khiva, MacGahan was ordered by the Herald to accompany it. Being denied permission by the Russian authorities, he waited until Kaufman's army was well on its way, and then pushed on through the desert after it with two attendants, followed for days by a squad of Cossacks, who were ordered to capture and bring him back. The success of this feat was deemed so impossible by the officers of Kaufman's army that

they doubted the information that it had been attempted, and the inquiry, "Have you seen the American?" was a standard joke for weeks throughout the command. Finally, defying desert sands, hostile Turkomans, hunger and thirst and the treachery of his own attendants, he reached the Russian army, and was hailed by officers and men as a worthy comrade. He rode in the front through the whole campaign, until the capture of Khiva and the end of the war. His book, "Campaigning on the Oxus," recounting his adventures and giving a history of the expedition, as well as a description of the country and its inhabitants, never before written in detail, is a fascinating and instructive work, and obtained for him a vote of thanks from the Royal Geographical Society of London, and the American Geographical Society of New York. From Khiva, in the interest of the Herald, he went to Cuba, thence for a few weeks to the United States, during which time he visited his friends in St. Louis. Returning to London, he was ordered to Spain to report the Carlist war, and rode with Don Carlos and his staff through the whole campaign, being once captured by the Republicans and condemned to death as a spy, from which predicament he was rescued by the United States consul at Bayonne, through the intervention of Caleb Cushing, then minister to Spain.

He next accompanied the ship Pandora in her voyage to the arctic regions, James Gordon Bennett, promoter. On her return he published his work, "Under the Northern Lights," which, while not dealing with the subject from a scientific point of view, was pronounced by reviewers the most entertaining work upon the arctic regions, from the author's standpoint, ever published.

Then came the crowning period of his life and the work upon which principally rests his fame, and which has left its impress upon the history of Europe. This

was done in the interests of the London News through his investigation of the "Bulgarian question." His letters, ten in number, on the subject of the Bulgarian atrocities were written with a terrible earnestness, which carried conviction with it and created an effect unprecedented in the history of journalism. In the words of one writer, "MacGahan woke up the Liberal party in England, and that party held back the Conservatives and gave the Russians a chance to do their work." Another writer states that, indirectly, MacGahan's letters caused the downfall of the Beaconsfield or Conservative ministry. There was scarcely a town throughout England in which enthusiastic meetings were not held condemnatory of Turkish rule and memorializing the ministry in behalf of Bulgaria, and each meeting ended with a vote of thanks to the daring and intrepid MacGahan.

He rode and camped with Gen. Skobeloff throughout the ensuing Russo-Turkish war, and was before Plevna with that general in the heat of the many great battles that were fought ere the war was ended. The Berlin conference then being about to be held, MacGahan, not only in the interests of the London News, but at the solicitation of the dignitaries of the conference, hastened to Berlin to take his place as one of the important factors in that most important deliberation. On his way he heard that Lieut. Greene of the United States army, a close friend, lay dangerously ill in Constantinople. He delayed his journey on this account, and, ministering to his friend, contracted typhus fever, of which he died June 9, 1878, at the age of 34. He was buried in the little Catholic cemetery close to the clear waters of the Bosporus, the sorrowing attendants at his quiet funeral being the American and English journalists then in Constantinople, a group of Russian officers, the Vicountess Strangford, an English noble-

woman who admired and paid tribute to his exalted character, and Skobeloff, the bravest of the brave, who wept like a child as the body was lowered into the grave.

In 1884, the legislature of the State of Ohio, at the instance of Representative H. C. Greiner, of Perry County, appointed a joint committee of the Senate and House to proceed to Washington City and ask Secretary of the Navy Chandler that a warship be detailed to bring to America the remains of the man whom the state desired to honor. General Phil Sheridan gave valuable assistance to the committee, and the mission was successful. The remains were taken aboard the Quinnebaugh at Constantinople and transferred at Gibraltar to the U. S. warship Powhattan, which conveyed them to New York City, where they lay in state in the city hall, after which they were accompanied by a delegation of the Ohio legislature to Columbus, where they were given the honors of a public funeral and again lay in state in the capitol, whence they were conveyed to the little cemetery at New Lexington, Ohio, where they now repose.

The czar of Russia will be known in history as the creator of the principality of Bulgaria, but the man who called the Russian army to the work of liberation was neither prince nor emperor, but this American, who, when he stood upon the banks of the stream of Batak and gazed upon the skulls of babes and maidens drying in the sun, the work of the Bashi-Bazouks, said in grim earnestness to the peasants who wept around him and begged assistance, "Before a year is past you will see me here with the army of the czar."

The Berlin congress proceeded with its work without the advice and assistance of the man who, before all others in the world, understood the Bulgarian question and who, if he had lived, would beyond doubt have been made an important factor in the future history and government of Bulgaria. To this day, in that

country, he is hailed as a patron saint and liberator, and every year, upon the anniversary of his death, a requiem mass is sung in the cathedral in Tirnova—the ancient capital of Bulgaria—for the repose of his soul.

Wisely indeed has it been ordained that the happenings of the future should be veiled from our mortal eyes. Otherwise may we not feel that the brave and dauntless soul which quailed not before the grim threats of the Paris mob, which faced the perils of the arctic seas and, alone, the still deadlier foes of the Asian desert; that even his great heart might have shrunk back, appalled, from a vision of the lonely grave on the cliffs of Pera, of the stately warship bearing its mournful burden, to his home across the broad Atlantic?

And, yet, again, might not this have been the end he would have chosen, even as his life was the one he would have lived? He knew life in its fullness; his eager feet trod the soil which had been the cradle of the world's history. He measured the strength of his young manhood against stupendous obstacles and conquered; he battled for the right and won the cause for which he fought; he tasted the sweets of intellectual power; honor and love and fame were his in no unstinted measure, and finally, with his heart brimming over with the love of life and of what life held for him, with the certain prospect of a splendid career and a deathless name, he rose to the still greater height of self-abnegation and gave up all at the sacred call of friendship.

Jan. MacGahan was never braver, never nobler, never greater than when he walked quietly into the typhus ward of the English hospital at Constantinople and took his place at the bedside of his stricken friend. "Greater love no man hath than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend." And each of us who re-

members his single mind, his simple heart, his lofty principles and dauntless courage, will speak of him as

> "The dearest friend to me, the kindest man,
> The best conditioned and unwearied'st spirit,
> And one in whom
> The ancient Roman honor more appears
> Than any that draws breath."[1]

Indian Troubles in Missouri. Order of the General Court of Louisiana Territory, Ste. Genevieve, First Monday in May, 1809. "The Court being opened the following order was entered:

The Court having received information that the Governor of this Territory under the apprehension of hostile movements and combinations of the Indians on the Northern frontiers of this Territory has called a considerable part of the militia into actual service, and that by General Orders of the 21st of April last, another considerable part of the militia is to rendezvous at the town of St. Louis on the 4th of May instant, and the Court being of opinion that on account of the alarmed situation of the inhabitants and the necessary absence of a number of persons in the public service whose attendance would be required as parties, jurors and witnesses, the suits depending in the General Court now could not be disposed of with justice to the parties, the Court do order that every suit now pending in the same is continued until the next term."

Jean B. C. Lucas,
Otho Shrader,
John Coburn,
} Judges.

[1]In connection with Mr. Blakely's tribute to his friend attention should be called to an article by another friend of MacGahan's (while in St. Louis he wrote his name McGahan)—Archibald Forbes, the famous war correspondent. The article will be found in Forbes's book, *Souvenirs of Some Continents*, published by Macmillan & Co., 1885. For a time MacGahan lived in the same building in which was Daly's place of business; the building shown in the picture here printed. When a permanent building is erected on the site, a tablet to the memory of MacGahan should be placed upon it. (Ed.)

S. E. Corner Broadway and Pine Street about 1878.

JOURNAL OF JEAN BAPTISTE TRUDEAU AMONG THE ARIKARA INDIANS IN 1795.

Translated by Mrs. H. T. Beauregard.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.

The conflict between freedom of trade and monopoly was as vigorous during the period of Spanish rule in Missouri, as it is at the present time. Beginning with the advent of Captain Rui in 1767,[1] it continued down to the time of the transfer of the country to the United States.

The Company referred to in the following Journal, which bore the name of Commercial Company for the Discovery of the Nations of the Upper Missouri (*Compagnie de Comerce pour la Découverte des Nations du haut du Missouri*), and which was organized at St. Louis, 12 May, 1774, obtained the right to the exclusive trade, for ten years, with the nations on the Missouri River living above the Poncas.[2] The trade with the Ponca nation had been previously granted to Jean Baptiste Monier of St. Louis, in consideration of the fact that he had discovered that nation in 1789.[3] Besides the exclusive right of the Commercial Company to the trade, there was also a recognition of the great American principle of protection, in the rule laid down by the Governor General that no merchant was eligible to membership in the Company unless he had trade relations with *la capitale*—New Orleans.[4]

[1] See *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. 3, p. 163, paragraph 56. And compare 1 Houck's *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, p. 14. See also 1 Houck's *Spanish Regime*, p. 35, and 2 *Ib.* pp. 100, 194.

[2] Transcript of articles of association in archives of the Missouri Historical Society; Papers from Spain. This company was not a corporation in our modern understanding of the word.

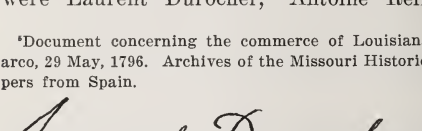
[3] 2 Houck's *Spanish Regime*, p. 1.

[4] *Reglement pour la traite des Illinois.* Document in archives of the Missouri Historical Society. Papers from Spain.

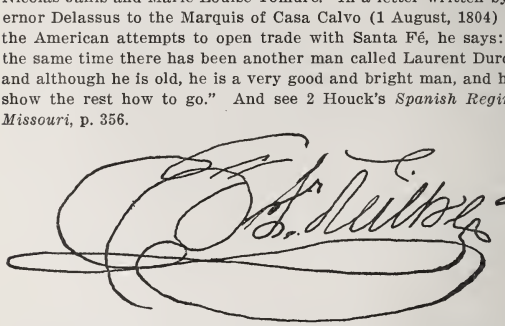
In addition to the public service to be rendered by this Company in the discovery of nations hitherto unknown, it also undertook to discover a route to the South Sea—the Pacific Ocean. For the successful accomplishment of this the King offered to pay the sum of three thousand dollars out of the royal treasury.[5]

The great majority of the merchants of St. Louis held aloof from the Company. Those who took part were Laurent Durocher,[6] Antoine Reilhe,[7] Joseph

[5]Document concerning the commerce of Louisiana, signed Montarco, 29 May, 1796. Archives of the Missouri Historical Society. Papers from Spain.

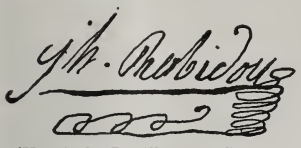


[6]Born in 1749, was the son of Jean Baptiste Durocher of Montreal and Genevieve Boucher-Darois, who was a native of Quebec. He came to St. Louis about 1778 and engaged in trade with the Indians. He married at Kaskaskia, 29 November, 1785, Marie François, daughter of Nicolas Janis and Marie Louise Tomure. In a letter written by Governor Delassus to the Marquis of Casa Calvo (1 August, 1804) about the American attempts to open trade with Santa Fé, he says: "At the same time there has been another man called Laurent Durocher, and although he is old, he is a very good and bright man, and he can show the rest how to go." And see 2 Houck's *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, p. 356.



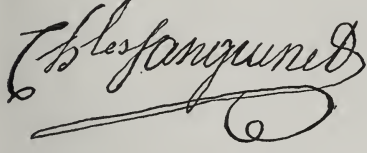
[7](Pronounced Ray) was born at Montpelier in France in the year 1735. He came to St. Louis some time prior to 1785, and engaged actively in the Mackinac trade. He married at Kaskaskia, 19 March, 1786, Stella, daughter of Rev. Ichabod and Ann (Oliver) Camp. He died at St. Louis 3 March, 1802, leaving three children, a son and two daughters. His elder daughter, Margaret, married Alexander McNair, who was first governor of the State of Missouri. Reilhe was an educated man, of good ability and high character, and was among the distinguished citizens of St. Louis.

Robidou,[8] Hyacinthe St. Cyr,[9] Charles Sanguinet,[10] Louis Chauvet Dubreuil,[11] Joseph Motard,[12] Benito

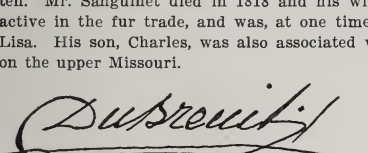


[8]For a sketch of Joseph Robidou, see 3 *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, p. 88, n. 24.

[9]Hyacinthe Rouillard *dit* St. Cyr was born at Batiscan in Canada, 2 Sept., 1751; married at St. Louis, 25 February, 1783, Hélène Hebert, and died in St. Louis County, 26 Nov., 1826. He was an active, enterprising man, and a good citizen. His wife was of the stock of the Lemoyne's and a cousin of Iberville and Bienville.



[10]Son of Simon Sanguinet, royal notary, and Angèlique Lefebvre Duchouquette, his wife, was born at Varennes in Canada, about the year 1741. He married, first, at Detroit, Veronique Cardin. She died in a short time, without children. Mr. Sanguinet then removed to St. Louis, where he married, second, Marie-Anne Condé, with whom he had a happy married life of over thirty-one years. They had ten children, six of whom lived beyond the allotted period of three score years and ten. Mr. Sanguinet died in 1818 and his widow in 1822. He was active in the fur trade, and was, at one time, a partner of Manuel Lisa. His son, Charles, was also associated with Lisa in the trade on the upper Missouri.



[11]Louis Chauvet Dubreuil was born at Rochelle in France in 1736. His father was René Chauvet Dubreuil, solicitor of the royal treasury, and his mother was Marie d' Agneau. He came to St. Louis in 1765, and married, 19 Sept., 1772, Suzanne Santous. Of this marriage there were eleven children. He was a merchant, a large land owner, and accumulated a handsome fortune. His home was on Second street, between Pine and Chestnut streets, where he had a handsome garden and orchard, and was lavish in hospitality. He died, shortly after the organization of the commercial company, 19 July, 1794. His widow died 25 October, 1825. Their descendants who now live in St. Louis are in the female line, and the name of Dubreuil is not found in the City Directory.

[12]Joseph Alexandre Jean Motard was born in the City of Carpentras, Province of Avignon, in France, and came to St. Louis before

Vasquez[13] and Jacques Clamorgan.[14]

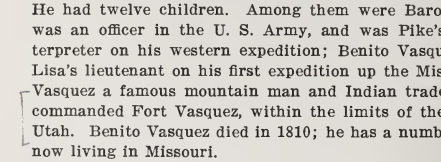
The Company sent three expeditions up the river; the first in July, 1794; the second in April, 1795, and the third in July or August, 1795.

Trudeau, the author of the Journal here printed, was in command of the first expedition, with Pierre Berger as his lieutenant, and James Mackay commanded the third. Who was the commander of the second expedition has not been learned.[15]

Something of the business history of the Company may be gleaned from the letter of Joseph Robidou to

1779. He was a merchant, farmer and miller. He built and operated a windmill in what was afterwards Myrtle street near Third. His family did not come with him to America, and he says in his will that he has had no news from Europe for several years, yet he left his estate to his wife for life, and at her death to his three children. Gregoire Sarpy was his executor. He died 28 December, 1802, aged eighty years.

[13]Was born in Galica in Spain in 1750. He came to St. Louis with Governor Piernas in 1770. He married, 27 November, 1774, Demoiselle Julie Papin. He was captain of militia, farmer and trader; and was active in all matters connected with the village life of the time. In the absence of the Governor from St. Louis he frequently acted as commandant of the village. He had twelve children. Among them were Baronet Vasquez who was an officer in the U. S. Army, and was Pike's adviser and interpreter on his western expedition; Benito Vasquez, *fils*, who was Lisa's lieutenant on his first expedition up the Missouri; and Louis Vasquez a famous mountain man and Indian trader, who built and commanded Fort Vasquez, within the limits of the present state of Utah. Benito Vasquez died in 1810; he has a number of descendants now living in Missouri.



[14]For biographical sketch of Clamorgan, see 3 *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, p. 88, n. 21.

[15]2 Houck's *Spanish Regime*, pp. 177, 183.

Governor Gayoso, printed in Billon's *Annals of St. Louis,* 1764-1804, page 283. Briefly stated, the business of the Company was not successful; the members of the Company became suspicious of and dissatisfied with Clamorgan, and gradually fell away. Clamorgan succeeded in interesting Andrew Todd in the business, and it was with the money advanced by Todd that the last expedition was outfitted.

The following letter is interesting in this connection:

"Most Excellent Sir:

Among the individuals who have lately had the misfortune to be victims of the epidemic which, in the letter of October 31st, I advised you was afflicting this Province, and which at this time, thanks to the Omnipotent, seems nipped by the rains, although light, and cold spells which we are having, fate struck Don Andrew Todd, to whom His Majesty by Royal Order of June 11th of this year was pleased to grant the exclusive trade with the Indian nations established to the North of the Ohio and Missouri. This young and robust Irishman had come down from Illinois to arrange his accounts with his correspondents in this Capital, to give his orders for the shipment from Europe of the equipment necessary for his traffic, and intended to return immediately towards the North; but before he was in the town for fifteen days the contagion attacked him, and within five days he was buried.

His death, if his successors and associates do not obtain the same privilege and carry out the same projects, besides undoing the favorable results which were the cause of the granting of the privilege, is a mortal blow to the Spanish Company of Discoverers to the West of the Missouri. Todd it was who had the greatest number of shares of stock, and who, moreover, on account of the extensive plans to gather and secure all the peltries of that Territory, had advanced to the Company the value of eight thousand dollars in goods adapted to the trade with the Indians; and if his heirs, creditors or companions should demand the payment, the Company would undoubtedly remain without means to continue its operations.

I advise Your Excellency of the foregoing in compliance with my duty and in order that you may not be wanting in the intimate knowledge of the affairs of these countries which you should have so that you may better be able to take such steps as you may judge opportune in view of the best service of the Sovereign.

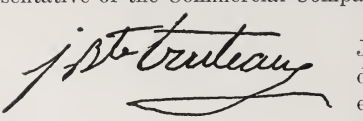
May our Lord prosper the life of Your Excellency many years.

JUAN VENTURA MORALES.

Exmo. Senor Don Diego de Gardoqui.

New Orleans, December 1, 1796."

Todd's will, which is dated 13 November, 1796, states that since he has never married, and his father and mother are both dead, he leaves all of his property to his uncle, Isaac Todd. Isaac Todd was a prominent merchant of Montreal. There was a protracted litigation between Todd's representatives and Clamorgan, Loisel and Company, a firm which seems to have taken over the business of the Commercial Company, which resulted in a compromise. Perrin du Lac, who was up the river in 1802, speaks of a fort of the Company near the mouth of the River Platte as though it was then occupied. Regis Loisel was engaged in trade on the Missouri down to the time of the transfer to the United States, and it may be that he was the representative of the Commercial Company.



THE AUTHOR, Jean Baptiste Trudeau,[16] is descended from Etienne Trudeau, son of François Trudeau and Catherine Matinier, his wife, of Notre Dame de Cogne in the Diocese of La Rochelle in France. Etienne Trudeau came to America about the

[16]In Canada the name is written Truteau, but in the South it was softened by the substitution of *d* for *t*. The author always wrote it Truteau, but he was designated by others as Trudeau, and his children all adopted that spelling.

middle of the seventeenth century, and married at Montreal, 16 January, 1667, Adrienne Barbier. They had twelve children, all sons. The third child, François, born 21 December, 1673, married Jeanne Burel, daughter of Pierre Burel of Cap St. Ignace, and went with Iberville to Louisiana. In the census of Louisiana of 1706, he is named with his wife and one child; in the census of 1721 the number of children had increased to seven. He was a man of character and ability, became a member of the Superior Council and died in 1740. From him were descended Madame Felicité Robineau de Portneuf, wife of Don Pedro Piernas, the first Spanish governor in St. Louis, Don Zenon Trudeau, who was governor here 1797-1799, and a number of others distinguished in the history of Louisiana. The fifth son of Etienne Trudeau was Jean Baptiste, born 11 April, 1680. He married at Montreal, 1 September, 1715, Madeleine Parent, and had a family of twelve children. The seventh child, Joseph Trudeau, born 20 March, 1786, married at Montreal, 12 February, 1748, Catherine Menard. They had five children only. Their eldest child, Jean Baptiste Trudeau, was the author of the Journal here printed. He was born at Montreal 11 December, 1748. From the profession he afterwards adopted, it is to be inferred that he received more schooling than was usual in those days. He came to St. Louis in 1774, and was the first school master of the village. He did not find teaching a lucrative business, and when his needs began to be exigent, he replenished his finances by a trading trip to the Indians. He married 1 May, 1781, Madeleine Leroy, widow of François Hebert *dit* Belhomme. Hebert was killed by the Indians in the *Grand Coup,* 26 May, 1780, near the Northeast corner of the present Forest Park, and his body was there buried. There were seven children of this marriage, most of whom grew to manhood and womanhood and had families

of their own, but there are now no descendants in St. Louis bearing the name.

Just when Trudeau returned from the upper river is not known. His engagement was for three years. That he remained a second winter, at least, is shown by a statement of Mackay's under date 18 January, 1796, in which he says:

"Through my fear of arriving late next summer at the Mandans, I am going to send out a detachment in a few days under charge of Monsieur Evans until he meets Trudeau who must have already constructed his fort among the above-mentioned Mandans, if he has experienced no opposition on the part of the English, who have had the audacity to unfurl their banner there."

And Lewis and Clark, under date 8 September, 1804, say: "Set out early and proceeded on under a gentle breeze from the S. E. At 3 Mls. passed the house of Troodo where he wintered in '96, called the Pania House."[17]

Trudeau was at home early in the year 1798, and on the 18th of October, 1799, the Governor Don Zenon Trudeau, who had been succeeded by Gov. Delassus, and who was about to leave St. Louis for New Orleans, executed a deed of gift in which he declares that he is "under grateful acknowledgments to Don Juan Bap'a Trudeau, school master at this town, he having for some years educated my numerous family with particular care, and I having received many favors at his hands, and he being my kinsman, and my eldest son,

[17]"Trudeau's House, also called Pawnee House, was an establishment occupied by one Trudeau in the years 1796-7. It was on the left bank of the river a little above and opposite the site where Fort Randall later stood." Chillenden's *American Fur Trade*, p. 952. This is some distance below the place where the Journal was written. The statement that he wintered at Trudeau's House in 1796-7 is based upon the Biddle edition of Lewis and Clark. It may be that he spent the winter of 1795-6 at the Mandans.

Don Renato, being god-father to his eldest son René-Louis." The gift was to Trudeau's sons, and was of the sum of four hundred dollars which Trudeau owed to the governor, and for which Trudeau gave a mortgage on his dwelling house, for the building of which the money had been used. This was a stone house on the present North Main Street on the site now occupied by the buildings numbered 18 and 20. This house was sold by Trudeau in 1810 to Manuel Lisa, and since Trudeau says that he lived in it for twelve years, it must have been built in 1798. In the St. Louis Directory of 1821, Trudeau is named as teacher and his residence given as North B Street above Main. North B Street is the present Pine Street, and Trudeau's home and school at that time were on the south side of Pine a short distance east from Second Street. Trudeau was a man of consideration in the village and his name appears along with that of Chouteau, Soulard, Sarpy and others of the principal citizens in the public documents of the time. He died in 1827, aged seventy-nine years.

The Journal here printed is designated on the copy in Washington as "*Seconde partie*"—the second part. A search was made for other parts, at the instance of the Missouri Historical Society, in the archives in Spain, but without success. All that can be found is what is here given, which is from a copy of what is probably a nearly contemporary copy of an original, which copy is in the library of the Department of State at Washington.

In the instructions given to Trudeau by Clamorgan and Reilhe he is more than once directed to keep a record of all that came under his observation. Paragraph 42 of those instructions is as follows:

"Monsieur Trudeau shall keep a daily record of all that may be done for the Company, in which he shall give information of the daily operations; as an explor-

ing expedition; a treaty with one nation or another; the arrival of strange Indians; a council; an event; a circumstance; the work done in the establishment, and, finally, everything which may be done or commanded by Monsieur Trudeau, in the daily order of its occurrence. He shall send a copy each year to the director, and retain a duplicate."[18]

The first information we have concerning the Journal, is in a letter from Jefferson to Captain Lewis, 16 November, 1803, in which Jefferson says:

"I inclose you also copies of the treaties for Louisiana, the Act for taking possession, a letter from Dr. Wister, and some information obtained by myself from Printeau's Journal in Ms. all of which may be useful to you."[19]

And again in a letter to Lewis, 22 January, 1804, Jefferson says:

"With mine of Nov. 16, I sent you some extracts made by myself from the Journal of the Agent of the trading Company of St. Louis up the Missouri. I now inclose a translation of that Journal in full for your information."

The Journal is mentioned by Robert Greenhow in his *History of Oregon and California* (Boston, 1844), and by the Rev. Father O'Hanlon in his *Life and Scenery in Missouri* (Dublin, 1890). Also by Professor Teggart in a valuable and interesting article entitled *Notes Supplementary to Any Edition of Lewis and Clark.*[20]

How this copy of Trudeau's Journal came into the hands of President Jefferson is a puzzle. It may have been sent by some inhabitant of St. Louis who wished to ingratiate himself into the favor of his new masters,

[18]Instructions of Clamorgan and Reilhe to Trudeau, 30 June, 1794, Archives of Missouri Historical Society. Papers from Spain.

[19]7 Lewis & Clark Original Journal (Thwaites), p. 281.

[20]*Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1898, Vol. 1, p. 185.

1908

CARTE
DU MISSOURI
Levee ou Rectifiée dans toute son
Etendue
Par Fois Perrin du Lac
l'An 1802.

47 46 45 44 43 42 41 40 39 38

107 106 105 104 103 102 101 100 99 98 97 96 95 94 93

R. de Chayeyenne
Grand detour
R. Blanche
R. des Poncas
Village des Poncas
R. qui tourne
R. aux gres bolets
Dans cette partie il y a beaucoup d'ours blancs
Montagne de sable mouvant
Ancien Village de nation paducas
Pays de montagne et de sable
Traces de Jacques Machery 1796
R. des Loups
R. Platte
Grand Desert de sable mouvant où il n'y a ni bois ni terre ni pierre ni eau ni animaux excepté des petites tortues de diverses couleurs.
Pays sabloneux et inégal
Village des Republiques
R. de l'Eau bleue
Prairie des Republiques
Cette Riviere prend sa source près des sources de la riviere de Santafé
R. Corne de Cerf
R. des Solotes
R. a la Boyer
Village des grands Ponsis
R. Salines
R. Grand Nimahas
R. Petit Nimahas
R. des Kancés
Village des Kancés
Prairie du Feu
R. du Feu
Ancien village des Kancés
Anciens villages des Missouris
Prairie de la Mine
R. de la Mine
R. Petit Manitou
R. a Morou
R. aux Ours
R. Charrette
R. Bonne femme
R. de la Caverne
R. Petit Charlotin
R. Grand Manitou
R. de la Loutre
R. Charrette
Lieu saulonneux
Habitations
St Charles
St Louis
MISSOURI
MISSISSIPI
Riviere des Grands
Grand Rapide
R. Grande
R. Rouge
R. Arkansa
R. de la Caverne
R. Cavernale
R. Castor
R. de Bois
Habitations
R. Bonne
R. aux Ours
R. Montagne
Os

or it may have been obtained by some agent sent by Jefferson to spy out the land which he had acquired for the United States. The truth of the matter will probably never be known.

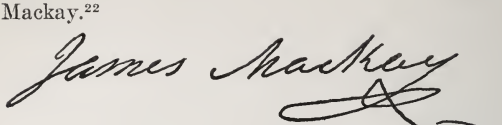
Captain Stoddard, in his *Sketches of Louisiana,* makes mention of the fur trade on the Missouri River, but does not speak of the Commercial Company or show any knowledge of this Journal.

The Map here reprinted is a *fac-simile* of that published with Perrin du Lac's *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes* (Paris, 1805). Perrin du Lac went up the Missouri in 1802, as far as White River in the present South Dakota. The inscription says that it was drawn and corrected by the author of the book, but Professor Teggart, in the article above referred to, gives strong reasons for the opinion that the map was made by James Mackay of St. Louis. Mackay, himself, says, "that during the years 1795 and 1796, he made a voyage of discovery to the upper and unknown parts of Missouri, from which voyage he has brought memoirs, and particularly a map, such as never appeared before, of this unknown part of the world; which papers he has himself delivered to his Excellency Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Governor General of these provinces."[21]

But it is also said that Lewis's map, which is published with Coues's edition of Lewis and Clark, was made in part at least by Mackay. The fact probably is that every man who went in command of an expedition up the Missouri in those days, carried with him a map containing the latest knowledge of the country, and made upon it such changes and additions as his observation justified. So that, in all likelihood, the map here given, while it no doubt contains much information given by Mackay, also contains details of

[21]Public Document, No. 59, House of Representatives, 24th Congress, 1st Session, p. 31.

later date than those given in the map made by Mackay.[22]



[22]Son of Judge George Mackay and Elizabeth McDonald, was born at the family home, Arrichliney, in the parish of Kildonan, County of Sutherland, Scotland, in the year 1759. His family was an ancient one and produced many men who distinguished themselves in the service of their country. James Mackay came to America, probably to Canada, in 1776, and to Missouri in 1793. It is stated in a letter from Carondelet to the Prince of Peace that he had been employed by the English with great success "in the explorations of the countries located north of the Missouri, with the intent of opening communication with the South Sea." He went up the Missouri, in 1795, as commander of the third expedition sent up by the Commercial Company. His letter giving some account of his voyage is printed in Houck's *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Volume 2, page 182. He returned to St. Louis in 1797. He was in that same year appointed Deputy Surveyor by Antoine Soulard, the Spanish Surveyor General. Shortly thereafter he was commissioned as commandant of the settlement of San Andrés in the northwest part of the present St. Louis County, in which position he was very acceptable to the Spanish government as well as to his people, who were mainly Americans. He was also captain of dragoons. (See Commission, 2 Houck's *Spanish Regime* 245; captain before appointed commandant.) He was for a short time, it is said, commandant of the district of St. Charles, which extended from the Missouri River to the British possessions and from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, excepting the little district of Portage des Sioux, of which Saucier was commandant. He married, 24 February 1800, Isabella, daughter of John Long and Elizabeth Bennet. Of this marriage there were nine children, and many of their descendants are now living in Missouri. Captain Mackay held his appointments under the Spanish government up to the time of the transfer of the country to the United States. Under the American government, in 1804, he was appointed Judge of the Court of Quarter Sessions along with Charles Gratiot, Colonel Chouteau, David Delaunay and Jacques Clamorgan. In 1816 he was a member of the legislature of the Territory of Missouri. He had several large grants of land from the Spanish government situated in various portions of the present State of Missouri. Upon one tract, in Howard County, there was a saline or salt spring, and for a time the name of Boon's Lick seemed about to be supplanted by the name Mackay's Saline. He lived for several years in what was known as the "Gravois Settlement," near Grant's farm.

JOURNAL.

The Sr. Jacques D'Eglise[23] departed from the village of the Ricaras on the 24th day of May, 1795. I sent with him two men, *engagés* of the Company, to deliver the few skins which I had obtained from the Cheyennes (*Chaguiennes*) only; the Sr. Jacques D'Eglise, before my arrival here, during the winter and also in the spring, having traded for all of the peltry of the Ricaras. Then I sent four men, two of whom, named Quebec[24] and Savoie,[25] are men capable of making pirogues to search for a tree sufficiently large for the construction of a boat (*voiture*) in which I might transport, as soon as possible, my remaining goods to the Mandans. I hoped that the Ricaras would

His St. Louis home was south of Mill Creek, a little distance west of the Carondelet Road, which at that time connected with Second street. In the City Directory of 1821, it is referred to as a brick house west of the Church street bridge. Captain Mackay died in April, 1822. He was a man of great natural ability, well educated for that time, honest and fair in all his dealings, and a notable power for good in the community.

[23]The name of Jacques D'Eglise does not appear in the St. Louis Archives, nor is it to be found in Tanguay's *Dictionnaire*. In the instructions given by Clamorgan to Trudeau it is said,—"If Senor Truteau should be pillaged by the Mahas Nations on his trip on the Misuri (and the nation does this in order to avenge the damages and injuries which Jacques D'Eglise and Garau did at their village in passing there last year), he shall promptly notify the director"—Later on in the instructions Trudeau is told that by virtue of his passport from the Lieutenant Governor he shall stop the trade of Jacques D'Eglise and Garau if he finds them among the Mandans. But in a letter of Carondelet to Clamorgan dated 18 Sept., 1896, Carondelet says,—"We will see if Leglise gets the prize of $3,000," referring to the money offered by the King for the discovery of the South Sea. And see letter of Casa Calvo in 2 Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, p. 356.

[24]The Quebec family was of St. Charles, where the name is still extant. There were at the time of this Journal several men of the name of the adventurous age, but which is here referred to it is not possible to determine.

[25]The Savoys were Acadians. There were two of the name at St. Charles in 1791, Isidore and Jean Baptiste. The one here mentioned cannot be distinguished.

consent to this upon my leaving a man here with powder and other necessities, while awaiting the arrival of the pirogue which the Company is to send up during the summer.

Na Lecuyer[26] and the Srs. Quebec and Savoie, wishing also to reach the upper Missouri for beaver hunting this autumn, would have helped me with my pirogue as far as the Mandans. They returned after fifteen days of fruitless search, having traveled through all the woods along the Missouri River for a distance of about seventy-five miles above the Ricara village. It is true, indeed, that for the distance of about one hundred and twenty-five miles below the village of the Ricaras and for the same distance above, the country is composed of hills and prairies, with an occasional patch of woods, the trees being willows and short and slender cottonwoods. For fuel and the building of their cabins these nations use only the drift wood which is piled up by the rising waters of the Missouri. Because of this lack of timber it would be most difficult for us to construct either houses or forts in this locality; we would need many people and much time to succeed.

I remained here without a pirogue, as it is absolutely necessary that I stay until the arrival of the boat which is due here this summer. Besides, my presence here is needed in case of emergency as much to preserve peace and union between these nations and those situated on the upper Missouri, as to prevent their going to war with those who wander through the country west of the river, who are very numerous.

A war party of the Ricaras arrived on the fifth of June with the scalp of a man of the Crow nation, a people who live near the Rocky Mountains.

[26]Lecuyer was the captain of one of the Company's boats, and had trouble with the Poncas in 1794. Nothing further has been learned about him.

The eighth of the same month another party which had gone to avenge the death of three of their people whom the Sioux had killed last winter, returned after having killed a man of the Sioux village called Ysanty, the people of which are sworn enemies of the Ricaras.

A few days later two men from another Sioux village called ta Coropa brought the news that three villages belonging to that nation had assembled and formed an army of five hundred warriors, intending to attack the village of the Ricaras.

The Ricaras have fortified their village by placing palisades five feet high which they have reinforced with earth. The fort is constructed in the following manner: All around their village they drive into the ground heavy forked stakes, standing from four to five feet high and from fifteen to twenty feet apart. Upon these are placed cross-pieces as thick as one's thigh; next they place poles of willow or cottonwood, as thick as one's leg, resting on the cross-pieces and very close together. Against these poles which are five feet high they pile fascines of brush which they cover with an embankment of earth two feet thick; in this way, the heighth of the poles would prevent the scaling of the fort by the enemy, while the well-packed earth protects those within from their balls and arrows.

The Sioux nations are feared and dreaded by all of these others on account of the fire arms with which they are always well provided; their very name causes terror, they having so often ravaged and carried off the wives and children of the Ricaras. Our being here gives them great assurance, consequently they every day await the coming of the Sioux with courage, and with the resolve to make a strong fight.

It is *apropos*, for the lucidity of this Journal to make known to you the Character of the Ricara nation, their number, the way in which they are divided, the position of their villages, as well as those of the neighbor-

ing nations; for they hold, so to speak, the key to the passages which we must traverse to reach all of the nations higher up the Missouri, where lie their villages which are in great number.

CHARACTER.

The Panis Ricaras are of a rather gentle nature; they respect and defer to the White Men. (I will hereafter make use of these words in the continuation of these *memoires* to designate civilized people; as the Indians of this country do not know any distinction between the French, Spanish, English, etc., calling them all indifferently White Men or Spirits.)

It is said that formerly the Ricara nation held us in such great veneration that they gave us a sort of worship, having certain festivals at which they offered us the choicest morsels, and even threw into the river robes which had been dyed, and dressed skins decorated with feathers, as a sacrifice to the White Man.[27]

I have been assured that the Cheyennes and other more distant nations still practice this custom; while the Ricaras, through having for so many years associated with the Sioux and the Panis Mahas have changed the ideas which they had inherited from their ancestors in regard to the White Men whom they regarded as divinities. Now they consider us only in so far as we supply them with the merchandise which we bring, and which is so necessary to them, particularly ammunition which they obtain from us and which protects them from the onslaught of so many formidable enemies who so often carry off their children.

I have never discovered in them any malice towards us. Up to the present time we have been able to freely enjoy our possessions without fear that there are any who will harm, molest or tyrannize over us. He who is

[27]Several old people of this tribe have told me this as a fact. *Marginal Note on Original Journal.*

not satisfied with what is offered him in exchange for his peltries carries them away without a murmur or a threat. Indeed, I will say that having frequented all of the Indian nations living East and West of the Mississippi as well as those living on the lower Missouri, I have found none who approach these in gentleness and kindness towards us. There is as much difference between these and the others as there is between day and night. But, according to some French hunters who are here and who have seen much of the Cheyennes, Mandans and Gros Ventres, they far surpass these, in goodness, kindness, and in reverence for the White Man.

The French who came to trade with the Ricaras nation two years before me described them very unfavorably; they accused them of being thieves, slanderers, liars, cheats, and capable of all sorts of wickedness; giving nothing for nothing, refusing to render any service to the French without pay, and even willing to let them die of hunger if found empty handed. 1792?

I believe them, but——

From stealing, slander, lying and cheating, I say that one can easily protect himself and avoid being duped, by being careful of his acts, moderate in his conversation, especially with young people (in which the French are too commonly at fault). As to any actual malice I have, up to the present time, experienced none. It is true that they are dour towards the French in the matter of food, giving nothing for nothing, and never doing us a service without reward, but they have these faults in common with all savage nations who have intercourse with civilized ones and become infected with their peculiar faults and vices. Those Indians who have had little or no intercourse with us are more civil, kinder, and more humane than those whom we habitually visit, for they observe in their manner of life the laws dictated only by reason,

nature and humanity. Certain it is that if these people whom we call barbarians and savages knew the disposition of the White Men whom they class with divinities, if they knew their manners and customs, their ways of living and their lack of charity for one another; if they could witness all the vile and contemptible deeds done by them for the sake of money, the worries and torments of body and mind imposed upon them by the sword, the gown and the counting-house; if they knew the tricks, the frauds, the crimes even which they practice against the rights of nature, of blood and of humanity in order to satisfy their ambition and to accumulate riches, they might justly apply to us the designation of savages and barbarians which we have given to them.

Those same Frenchmen (Garraut[28] and his companions) who, as I say, had come among the Ricaras two years before me, have contributed largely by their bad conduct to diminish the favorable opinion and good will which they formerly had towards us.

Instead of finding these White Men, as they had believed, incapable of folly or unreason, they found them dissolute, prodigal and wicked. They quarreled among themselves to such an extend that some counselled, begged and even paid the Indians to maltreat, to rob and to kill the others. The Indians, more reasonable than the Whites, without performing the evil deeds to which they were urged, profited by the liberality and the discord of the Whites and took their merchandise whether it was spent for women, or for other fol-

[28]This was probably Joseph Garreau, who was, in 1787, an *engagé* of Don Andres Fagot la Garcinière of St. Louis; he was then twenty-three years old. In 1812-13, he was in the service of Manuel Lisa. Pierre Garreau, his son (or stepson) by an Arikara woman, was for many years interpreter at Fort Berthold and a well known character on the upper river. See, concerning him, Boller's *Among the Indians*, and Larpenteur's *Forty Years a Fur Trader*. See also Lewis and Clark, under date 16 March, 1805, for the Garreau here mentioned.

lies and excesses which they gloried in committing. Instead of bringing peace among the Indian nations, which should be the first aim of the White Man when he goes among them, these people were the cause of quarrels and dissensions among the chiefs and families with whom they lived, and even embroiled them with their allies. Far from upholding these people in their former simplicity and in their estimation of the value of our merchandise, they made them believe that we considered it no more than grass growing on the prairie, and that we preferred to use it for bad purposes rather than to trade it for peltries. They also paid the Indians three prices for food, a habit and rule which took such deep root in the minds of these people that had I not taken the precaution to provide myself with dried meats from the Cheyennes and the Sioux, who sell them more cheaply, I should have run great risk of fasting; having abandoned, on my arrival here, the pernicious custom of paying at each meal for each dish, be it soup, corn or cooked meats, as it was served, which had been followed by my predecessors.

The Sr. Jacques D'Eglise failed to reform this way of living, which must involve any one who finds himself obliged to remain for any length of time with this nation in very heavy expense.

I will say, however, to the credit of the Sr. Jacques D'Eglise, that he regulated thoroughly the fur trade with the Indians; having established a very high price for merchandise, and having held to it with firmness. But, since I am impartial, I will say of him that he did not search out ways of attracting strange nations to him, nor of maintaining this nation in union and accord with its allies by speaking or sending proper words (*quelques paroles*) to that end. I will say, further, that he neglected to encourage the hunting of beaver and other good furs, being too much bent upon

trading for robes, leggings (*mitasses*), moccasins, women's garments, dry cow hides, etc., which sufficed to meet the needs of the Indians. They find it extraordinary that I refuse to trade for this sort of articles, as well as to submit to their method of selling us food.

It will be easily seen from what I have reported that we often contribute to the wickedness and depravity of heart of the Indian nations. It would only require a second Garaut and like companions to make these nations like all the others living on the lower Missouri, which is to say crafty and bad. There is no gainsaying that there are some Indians of a gentler and kinder nature than others. The Ricaras nation, which I consider as having a good character, is said by some to be less docile and more wicked than any of the nations living beyond them; that the young people do not heed the old ones; that the remonstrances of the elders, urging peace and harmony with their neighbors, are listened to without contradiction, but the young men continue to act as their whims and caprices prompt them.

NUMBERS AND DIVISIONS.

The many families or tribes of which these villages are composed, each having its own Chief, proves a great obstacle to keeping harmony amongst them.

In ancient times the Ricara nation was very large; it counted thirty-two populous villages, now depopulated and almost entirely destroyed by the smallpox which broke out among them three different times. A few families only, from each of the villages, escaped; these united and formed the two villages now here, which are situated about a half a mile apart upon the same land occupied by their ancestors. The differences of opinion and the wrangles for authority which arise among the Chiefs, although the Indians live independently and without subordination, cause discord and misunderstandings among them, and give to the

young men occasion to make trouble and attack nations, which otherwise would wish for peace and union. This nation formerly so numerous, and which, according to their reports, could turn out four thousand warriors, is now reduced to about five hundred fighting men,[29] as I have said, and what is more the lack of harmony which exists among the Chiefs has caused the nations to be divided into four parts. Two of the Chiefs, jealous no doubt of the kind of superiority and consideration acquired by the two Chiefs who now dominate in these villages, as well with us as with the other nations, seceded last spring with their bands; one is gone to make his residence with the Pani-Mahas, the other with the Mandans.

Jealousy among the heads of this nation is the sole cause of their discord and their divisions, for they know no interest and are without ambition to accumulate riches; they live in a sort of equality conformable to the dictates of nature, in such a manner that it might be said that what belongs to one belongs to another, each priding himself on helping his neighbor whether it be with food or other necessaries. They are far removed from the sentiments prevailing amongst civilized nations, where a man is esteemed and respected only according to his wealth; with them, to be a man and honored it is necessary to be dignified, courageous, generous, charitable, and wise in counsel; therefore they have no quarrels or feuds caused by theft, slander or cheating. If any one among them is discovered to have been guilty of such conduct they content themselves with telling him that he has no sense, or that he has a wicked heart, and usually in a case of theft, they say that the thief must have been in sore need, and do not carry the matter further.

[29]See 1 Original Journals of Lewis and Clark (Thwaites), p. 188.

It is perhaps surprising[30] that these people who have no knowledge of the written law, whether human or divine, and are therefore fearless of the punishment which God has destined for the wicked in the next world and of the corporal punishment in this, should not be more addicted to stealing and other crimes so common to the civilized nations. But one rarely hears of robbery among them, and never of assassination or murder; although their cabins are open all night as well as by day, and every one goes in and out freely. And, besides, several families live together in one house; a thing which we Europeans could never do without a multitude of laws, a throng of judges, lawyers, notaries, and a train of police, who, while they should be the foundation and support of our societies, are often leeches and tyrants because of the wrong use they make of their power. We must ask of the free thinkers (*esprits forts*) of the century, who are more familiar with the systems of morals than I am, the reason for so great a diversity of manners and sentiments between animals of the same species (men) who have equally at birth the germs of justice and equity at the bottom of their souls.

The women never cause battles among them, for not having that kind of blind frenzy which we call love, they are not susceptible to jealousy and do not know that passion.[31] When a man dies, they say, he has not even his wives with him in the land of the dead, so that those who fight and kill each other for women are fools and mad men.

The girls and young women who seem to be common property among them, living in full liberty, are so dissolute and debauched that according to the reports of

[30]A marginal note on the copy at Washington says that this paragraph is misplaced, and should come in later on.

[31]I except the Sioux and the Cheyennes, who are jealous to the last degree. *Marginal Note by the Author.*

those who have studied them, there is not one whose modesty is proof against a bit of vermillion or a few strands of blue glass beads; what is more, the fathers, brothers and even the husbands offer and take the youngest and most beautiful daughters, sisters and wives to the White Men for their diversion, in exchange for the few trifles which they receive.

Our young Canadians and Creoles who come here are seen everywhere running at full speed, like escaped horses, into Venus' country, from which they rarely emerge without being afflicted with the ills which are almost inseparably connected with it, for the foul distemper is more common here than the smallpox is in the northern countries of Canada. The Indians cure themselves of it very easily; they showed me some who six months ago were rotting away who are now perfectly cured.

The two villages belonging to the Panis-Ricaras are situated near the Missouri; the first one at a distance of eight hundred paces from the river, and the other about one hundred paces further on; both are at a distance of nearly four hundred and thirty leagues from the Illinois. South of them on a fork of the Platte River live the Pados (Comanches), a great nation living at a distance which the Ricara warriors would cover in a seven days' march, which would mean about eighty of our leagues.

1290 miles
LaC estimated
it 1425 miles

On the Southwest and to the West, on the branches of a large river (which I name the river of the Cheyennes) which empties into the Missouri about three miles above the second Ricara village,* are situated several nations called the Cayoguas, the Caminabiches, the Pitapahotas, etc., all of different speech.[32] The

[32]What are here called the Cayoguas, we know as the Kiowas and the Caminabiches as the Arapahos. Pitapahotos is probably a way of writing Pitahauerats, the name of a tribe of the Pawnees. In a treaty made at St. Louis in 1825, Gov. Clark and Col. Chouteau,

* "This is a strong evidence that the Ricas at this date were at the villages on the east side of the Missouri between Evarts and Mobridge. The river referred to cannot be other than the Grand" (Robinson 7:461)

Cheyennes wander over the country along the river; a little below those first named (*plus bas que les premiers*). The vast country, not far from here, over which these different nations roam, abounds in beaver and otter, since they have never hunted these animals, not having had any intercourse with the White Men. It would be easy, by means of the Cheyennes who are their friends, to extend our commerce with these nations and obtain from them fine furs. To this end, however, some expenditure would be necessary to get horses and people to transport the kind of merchandise that would attract them most; for this river, of which I have just spoken, thought sufficiently wide, is so very shallow that one can not venture on it in a pirogue; it could be traveled only in the spring, when the snow melts, or after abundant rainfalls, and then only with boats made of buffalo skin, such as are used on the Platte River. To attempt to have them come by way of the Missouri to the place where the merchandise depots are established would be an impossibility; not that the Ricaras or Mandans would offer any opposition, but owing to the fear which they have of the Sioux, their sworn enemies, and whose very name causes all of the people of this continent to tremble.

The northern part of the Missouri is inhabited by the great Sioux nation, almost all of whom are enemies of the Mandans, the Gros Ventres and the Ricaras, and other nations also. The Sioux nation are of those who hunt beaver; and almost every spring they obtain great quantities from here, which they trade with those Sioux who frequent the St. Peter's River and that neighborhood.

The high price held here on merchandise [is the cause of this]; and above all the amount of powder

representing the United States, call them the Pitivirate Noisy Pawnees. See Perrin du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 257, 1 Lewis & Clark Original Journals, 190.

which we give for beaver; which until now, has been only ten pounds for each pack,[33] and some trifle for *lagniappe;* now they demand a double handful for each beaver and each otter, and unless we yield they will never consent to trade their furs with us.[34]

As for me, my orders being to maintain very high prices on merchandise, though I see with much regret so many fine skins being taken out of our territory to strangers, I cannot, without a new order from the Company, better the price.

One thing is certain; if the English merchants, who are unquestionably much more enterprising than those of Illinois and Louisiana, were in possession of this river (the Missouri) on which from its mouth to its source navigation is so easy for the largest pirogues, having no cataracts or portages, they would establish a large trade with all the nations, those which are known to us as well as those which are still unknown, and obtain from them a great quantity of fine peltry; a thing which these gentlemen, the merchants of the Illinois, have never dared and may, perhaps, never undertake, because of the reluctance they have always had and still have of making expenditures, and because of their fear of failure, they being too easily disheartened by the first obstacles and losses which are encountered; things which have never stopped the English in their commercial ventures.

It will doubtless be said that the company formed in St. Louis for the purpose of doing business on the upper Missouri has for its aim and object, in establishing a store house at the Mandans, the discovery of dis-

[33]The French is "*dix louis les chacque*"; the translation is a guess.

[34]"Each skin has an established value with which all are acquainted. They call *plu* the equivalent of one piastre [dollar]. Two skins of an antelope or a kid make one *plu;* one deer skin or one beaver skin make one *plu;* one otter skin makes two *plus*, etc., etc. Since the prices are made in *plus*, there is not the least difficulty in trading." Perrin du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 201.

tant nations with whom it might open a fur trade. Such is, indeed, the intention of the Company; and I have been instructed to send out the *engagés* of the Company on voyages of discovery North, South, East and West. But will these *engagés,* who, for the most part, come from Canada, and who have been chosen because of the small wages they are willing to accept, and who are unfamiliar with the Indians and with the routes, will they, I say, make discoveries without leaders and without guides? Will the guides and leaders cost nothing? Will they be able to pass from nation to nation, unsophisticated as they are, without some cost for little presents to the Chiefs? It is required, however, that I execute all of these projects without expense, according to my instructions.

The Director has enjoined upon me to retain only (word blotted) men with me, and to send the other *engagés,* after the winter season is done, back to the Illinois. These two men, will they be ubiquitous? Will they be able to render the needed service at the post, and explore the country from sunrise to sunset and from South and North? Such a thing does not stand to reason.

The greatest obstacle to the voyager on the upper Missouri is the pass at the Mahas and at the Poncas. Will the Company make the necessary effort to free these passes? There is little risk of meeting the Sioux. They are easily evaded by proper precaution in passing the places where they frequent. Above all it is necessary to know how to choose the time to make the passage when they are away, which is in the early spring.

I conclude by saying that if the ways were once opened, and if Messieurs, the merchants of the Illinois would employ the necessary forces to reach the many different nations who live on the upper Missouri and in the neighboring country, and the means to prevent

the people North of the river from carrying their furs to the English merchants, it would double and treble the value of their own trade. The capable men among the Indians, and the young men who are accustomed to remain inactive, would have a better chance to earn a livelihood and pay their debts, and in consequence this country which can barely support itself by its fur trade and its hunting, would be much better off than at present. (In the copy at Washington there is a page following this which has been so carefully erased as to be illegible.)

CONTINUATION OF MY JOURNAL.

On the twelfth of June, several horses were stolen during the night, from the second village of the Ricaras. This horse robbery caused a great tumult in the village as it was realized that it had been committed by the Nations of the Upper Missouri. They accused the Mandans and the Gros Ventres, and were much inclined to go to war against these nations. I begged the Chiefs to calm their young men and made them understand that it were far better to hold them back than to allow them recklessly to make war. I urged them to send to some of their own people among the Ricaras who are harboured by the Mandans to find out exactly who was the author of this theft; that I myself would write on this subject to the Frenchmen living among the Mandans, and that I would send some tobacco to the Chiefs of those Nations, entreating them to have the horses returned if they had been stolen by any of their young men. They consented to this, and on the seventeenth of the month, three Indians started out on this errand. They returned the following day and reported having seen a great number of men on horseback, who seemed to coming on, ready for war, either with them or the Sioux who are their allies, which statement proved to be false.

On the twenty-fourth of the same month, two Frenchmen named Quebec and Chorette[35] started out on the same trip; they returned on the third day, saying that they had seen a warlike party, whom they thought might be Sioux, by whom they were not discovered, as they left under cover of the night.

On the second of July, six other Indians started out on the same errand, carrying the words of the Village from which the horses had been stolen, and three pieces of tobacco which I was sending to the Chiefs of the Mandans and Gros Ventres and the band of Ricaras who had taken refuge with the first.

These words were to this effect: that being friends and allies and having given no cause for having had their horses stolen, they were sending their own people to ask for them and they believed that the Chiefs, be they Mandans or Gros Ventres would have them returned, owing to the regard in which they held the White Men and in consideration of the words of their Spanish Father who advised them to live in peace and harmony, he who had made them restrain their young men who lacked neither courage nor legs to avenge this robbery.

I sent a letter by them to Menard[36] and Jussaume[37]

[35]Joseph Chorette, son of Jean Chorette, lived on the Mississippi below Carondelet in 1787. He was then twenty-nine years old. The name as written in old documents has the variants Choret, Charet and Charette. The Charlton rivers were named, no doubt, for some member of this family.

[36]Menard. This was perhaps François Menard, who lived at Florissant in 1787. He was at that time aged thirty-six years. Menard was robbed and murdered by the Assineboines in what is now Renville County, North Dakota, in 1803. Clark writes, "a frenchman has latterly been killed by the Indians on the Track to the trading establishment on the Ossineboine R. in the North of this place (or British fort). This frenchman has lived many years with the Mandins." 1 *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, 205. 1 *Henry-Thompson Journals*, Coues' Ed. 311.

[37]René Jusseaume *dit* St. Pierre. This man cannot be definitely traced. The family came from Saintonge in France, and men of the name were in Canada about the beginning of the Eighteenth

who were living among the Mandans, in which I impressed them with the fact that the intention of the Lieutenant Governor of the Illinois was to provide all the necessaries of life, to all the Nations situated along the upper Missouri, and for this reason, had formed a Company, composed of several merchants of St. Louis, for whom I was agent, to establish a trading post among the Mandans for several years; that unfortunate and unforeseen events had prevented my reaching there last Fall, that I would certainly reach there during the coming Summer after the arrival of a pirogue laden with merchandise which I was expecting during the coming months of July or August. I assured them that the Company of the Missouri was ready to favor and help them, that it was hoped that they on their part would contribute with enthusiasm to the success of the proposed undertaking; and that they must stop trading with the English on the Red river. I begged them to spare no pains in maintaining peace and harmony among all the nations, par-

century. There were several members of the family at Kaskaskia and at St. Louis prior to 1795. In 1806, René Jusseaume is said to have been for more than fifteen years an independent trader on the Missouri (1 *Henry-Thompson Journals.* Coues' Ed. 303). He was interpreter for Lewis and Clark at Fort Mandan, and when on their return Journey, they brought the Mandan Chief Shepaka down the river and took him to Washington to see the President. Jusseaume accompanied them. On the first attempt to carry the Chief back to his home Jusseaume was wounded by the Arickaras. He was brought down to St. Louis and cured, and finally, along with the Chief, reached his home among the Mandans in 1809. In 1811 and later he was in the employ of Manuel Lisa. On 24 August, 1817, Toussaint Jusseaume, son of René and Catherine Des Bois (Catherine of the Woods?) married Marguerite Bergan at Cahokia, and on 3 January, 1820, Josette Thérèse Jusseaume, daughter of René (her mother's name is not given), married Eustache Carrière at Florissant. Carrière was also on the Upper Missouri with Lisa. No account of Jusseaume's death has been found, and the date is unknown.

Alexander Henry (1 *Henry-Thompson Journals.* Coues' Ed. 333) gives an unfavorable description of Jusseaume's character, but much allowance should be made for race prejudice and that engendered by trader's rivalry.

ticularly those of the Mandans, Gros Ventres and Ricaras; to make the Mandans understand that the route which the French must take to reach them, depended entirely on the Ricaras. I implored them to have returned to these last, the horses recently stolen from them and to assure the Chiefs of the Mandans and Gros Ventres, to whom the Great Chief of the Spanish, and the universal Father of the Red Skins, was sending by me medals, flags and swords with which to bind their friendship and to insure benefits to all their villages; that, I say, should they insist upon keeping the horses, they will infallibly light the torch of war between them and the Ricaras and ultimately prevent our reaching them despite our desires to do so. Above all, I pleaded with the Sr. Menard who has the reputation among the Indians of being a man to be depended upon, frank and honest, to distribute in person the tobacco which I was sending to the Chiefs of the Mandans and Gros Ventres, until I myself could deliver to them the words of their Spanish Father. These new Ambassadors promised me to be back by the thirteenth day, taking five days walking to reach there, three days to remain and five in which to return.

On the sixth of the month three men of the Cheyenne Nation, from a village called Ouify (Ouisay),* which has not yet come here, arrived, having heard the news that among the Ricaras, had come some strange white men, bringing with them much powder and merchandise; their Chief had sent these here to find out if the truth had been told them; they reported that the Cayoguas, the Caminanbiches, the Pitapahotos of whom I spoke above, had drawn near, and were camped just beyond them, that on the reports they had received concerning the arrival and residence of the White men among the Ricaras, they wished to form an alliance with these last, in order to obtain from them ammunition and knives, of which they were so much in

* "I cannot identify the Sioux of this village. It must have been in the Black Hills region." Robinson 7: 466.

need, but that the dread they felt, either of the Sioux or the Ricaras, who often killed them without provocation, prevented their approaching.

In the meantime some young men, belonging to the Ricaras, formed a war party, in order to attack the Nations on the upper Missouri, among whom were possibly those just mentioned. I reproached the Chiefs and the old men, that they should allow their young men to become so unmanageable and show such hostile feelings, wishing to do harm and to make war on the neighboring nations who were seeking only peace and harmony.

I proved to them their poor policy in antagonizing every one, retaining no allies or friends; that if on the contrary they would but form closer ties with the nations west of them and who are well supplied with horses, they would derive great benefit from them and acquire many things which were lacking to them; that we White men would trade with them in beaver and other furs, which were so plentiful in the country.

The chiefs and the old men approved all that I said but seeing their young men obstinate and determined to go to war, the Chief of the first village of the Ricaras, named the Crazy Bear, in whose cabin I lived, became angry and remonstrated with them sharply, telling them to go on and make war and so drive back the White men to their own villages, with all of their powder and other merchandise, while he and his family would withdraw with the Cheyennes. In order to reduce these turbulent young men to tranquility I proposed to this Chief that we should ourselves go with the Calumet to the nations who were making instant demands for peace. He applauded my plan, but he said he must first call a meeting of the principal men of the Nation, to impart to them our plan and obtain their approval.

The following day on the 7th of the month he bade

all ot the Chiefs and *considerés* to his Cabin, he placed the flag before the door and placed his medal around his neck. At the furtherest end of the hut, exposed on a mat, the letter patent which his Spanish Father had sent him by me, having had placed before it some live coals on which was burned a certain kind of dried grass the smoke of which produces a very strong odor, and which they use as we use incense. They hold such things as medals, flags, and letters in such deep veneration that whenever these are taken from their wrappings, they are smoked and hold the most important place at their feasts.

To this assembly, he recalled the desires and advice of the great Chief of the White Men (of which they saw the evidence), which was to make peace and not war on the neighboring Nations. I repeated to them what I have already said on page —— about acquiring horses from the Western people; for in order to win over all sorts of Nations to our views, it is well to mix in their own interests and clearly show them their own advantage to be gained.

The whole assembly applauded our speeches and approved the plan which the Crazy Bear and I had formed, of going to the Nations which I have named, bearing the Calumet. They summoned the war Chief of the party, who was preparing to go; they induced him to smoke and he consented to remain quiet. They called the three men of the Cheyenne Nation who had just arrived and, having found out through them, just where these strange Nations had stopped, decided that they were still too far away to go to them at once, and that it would be more suitable to send them tobacco, to make them smoke to the White men and the Ricaras Pawnees, urging them to approach without fear and assuring them that the White men desired to see them and that the Ricaras unanimously wished to make an alliance with them, that here they would find guns,

powder, knives, etc., in exchange for their horses to the Ricaras and their furs with the White men, who advised them to hunt beaver during the Fall, Winter and Spring.

That as soon as it should be learned that they were near here, the Chief "Crazy Bear" with a few *considerés* among the Ricaras, and myself would go to them with the calumet to form a sincere alliance with them, and, if instead of approaching, they withdrew, it would prove that they cared little for the White men or for peace with the Ricaras.

All of these words were repeated to the Cheyennes by an interpreter, for their language is entirely different from that of the Pawnees. I gave them three pieces of tobacco, to be delivered to the three Nations which I mentioned above, and after having given to each one a knife, a bit of Vermillion and a piece of tobacco, which they might show in their village, to prove the good faith of the White men, they left on the morning of the eighth.

On the tenth of July, I unfortunately lost one of my Frenchmen, named Joseph Chorette, who was drowned, while bathing alone at dusk, in the Missouri.

Two little Indians aged about ten and twelve years old, came running to us to say, that they had seen a white man, who was washing his body on the bank of the Missouri, and while playing had wandered a little farther away from him; a few moments later, they looked towards the spot where he had been and had seen him no more; then going to the spot where he had gone into the water, they found his clothes, which were still there.

Accompanied by the other Frenchmen and several Indians, I ran to the edge of the river; we found his clothes, just as these children had told us.

The Indians jumped into the river just at this spot, also some distance below, to make a search, but with-

out avail. For the last few days this man had taken the habit of going to bathe in the Missouri, in spite of all we could say, telling him that the bed of the river being uneven, full of holes and precipices and he being unable to swim, he would undoubtedly be drowned; but incredulous to the last, he obstinately continued his bathing and unfortunately was drowned. I was most unhappy over this misfortune. During the twenty-six years and over, in which I have been making my trips, neither I, nor any one of my companions, has met with a serious accident. I had him searched for, during several days, but without success.

On the fourteenth of the month, the six Indians, whom we had sent to the Mandans, returned; they brought me two letters from Messrs. Jussome and Menard, assuring me that the Mandan and Gros Ventre Nations had received and smoked the tobacco which I had sent to them with inexpressible joy, incessantly raising their hands towards their Father, the Chief of the White men, in thanksgiving for his benevolence, and that they had promised to do nothing against the will of the White men. They tell me that all of the Indians and the French who make their residence there are impatiently awaiting my arrival, being disposed to do all in their power to serve the Company; that so far as the stolen horses are concerned, which I and the Ricaras claim, there would be no difficulty whatever in returning them had they been stolen by the Mandans or Gros Ventres, but that the robbery had been committed by some young men of the Ricaras Nation who had taken refuge among the Mandans, and they would not consent to return them, saying that the stealing of these horses had been done in revenge for some other horses, which had been withheld by those from below, at the time of their separation, and that besides, these discussions and controversies between those belonging to the same Nation was no business of the

French or the Mandans, and that they scorned the threats of their own kind.

So our so-called Ambassadors returned without horses. The discontent of the second Ricaras Village may be easily imagined.

On the sixteenth of July, one of the great chiefs of the village from which were taken the larger number of the stolen horses, and who since my arrival here, had always shown us much consideration, came to visit me; he said that he was leaving with many young men, to war on the Nations above; that since my arrival, they had consented to all for which I had asked, for the sake of peace, but since the Indians above us had not heeded my words, nor theirs, they intended to avenge the stealing of their horses; that he being Chief and not being in sympathy with the movement of these young men of no sense and no ears, had not wanted to leave, without warning me, and to find out from me my views on the subject.

I easily understood the object of his discourse, which was, to be retained by me or to get my consent to make war on the nations farther up.

I was undecided as to how I should answer this man. Stop him? That would be expensive, for you will notice that among all savage people the most wise words and discourses, whether for peace, whether for war, or in regard to the reception of strangers, are not fruitful, if unaccompanied by feasts and by presents of horses, of guns or other merchandise given at the end.

After so many losses and expense due to unfortunate events, since my departure from the Illinois, by which the Company finds itself much aggrieved, and those which I have made and am obliged to make since my arrival here, whether it be to maintain peace with the Cheyennes and the village of the Sioux settled here, who were at variance with one another and whom it is

necessary to keep on friendly terms, they being the ones who can best furnish us with good furs.

What with food and small gifts which I cannot refuse, now and then, to the two Chiefs decorated with the Ricaras medal, when they ask me. It being wise to propitiate and not offend them too much, by unnecessary refusals while not seeming to grant them too readily. So I take good care to not only avoid heavy expenses, but also not to give to these newly bemedaled Chiefs, the bad habit of exacting from traders, a quantity of merchandise as due to their positions of Chiefs, a custom which the French have unfortunately introduced among all the nations situated along the lower Missouri. I try to yield to their demands only on necessary occasions, where it is a question of giving a few trifles to strangers, who come to visit them, or when it is to appease some mutinous or discontented ones of their own nation, who would insult or maltreat their allies. To refuse them under such circumstances, would be to cause them great displeasure and change their kindly sentiments, with which we wish to inspire them, such as peace amongst themselves and kindly feelings toward strangers and, above all, not to alienate us in their minds.

All of these losses and expenses made me hesitate as to how I should act this time towards this Chief. To recall to him all the advice of his Father, the Chief of the White Men, and to repeat my usual arguments for maintaining peace and free passage among the Nations of the upper Missouri, without at the same time giving him anything, was to throw my words to the winds, especially to a man who had just lost all of his horses, by which he counted his wealth, and who would not have failed to reply as he had already done, that these same Nations from above had been the first to disturb the peace and harmony which I was anxious to maintain.

To tell him that he should do as he pleased, was to countenance all of the evil which he intended doing, besides trying to check all the youths of this Nation without being able, when the time came, to hold them back. I therefore thought fit to make a few more sacrifices, although burdensome, by giving out some more merchandise to stop this war party, rather than allow it to proceed, for one thing is certain, that should war break out between these Nations and those farther up, all passages leading to the latter would be closed to us, which would only bring great harm to the Company, by putting obstacles in the way of Commerce which it had planned and which was to extend to all the Nations on the upper Missouri. I summoned the Chief "Crazy Bear" and some *considerés* of the Ricaras, who made him smoke with me in order to divert him from his purpose. I gave him a present and bade him to make known to the others of his village who had lost horses by robbery.

In order to displease no one, he accepted the Calumet and the gift, saying that it was not on account of the booty which I gave and which was but small in comparison to the loss of his horses, if he agreed to remain quiet, but in consideration of the White Men, whom he did not wish to displease, that he would forget them and would make every effort to appease those, who like himself, had lost their horses.

This Chief did at once all that he had promised me, and there was no more talk of war with the Nations higher up.

On the eighteenth of the same month ten men of the Cheyenne Nation arrived; they reported that their entire village was approaching, traveling by slow stages, being too heavily laden to move faster. That the young men of their Nation had started off, carrying tobacco to the three Nations which I had named, the

Cayoguas, the Caminanbiches, and the Pitapahotos, and that they had not yet returned.

They also told me of a most wretched accident which had happened to them recently; I would not repeat it to you, if the cause of it were not attributed to us, on account of the high opinion they have of us and all that belongs to us.

When I had summoned the most important ones from both Cheyenne villages on my arrival here last Spring, to announce to them the words of their Spanish Father and to deliver to them the medal, the flag, the letter patent and the present which he sent them, I asked them to choose from among their number, the one whom they deemed most worthy to wear the medal and to be made the great Chief of their Nation. They had me to give it to a young man whom they called "The Lance," who accepted it and promised to do all the good which had been recommended to him, in the letter which his Father, the Chief of the White Men, had sent him.

These newly arrived Cheyennes youths reported to me, that this young Chief, far from having followed my advice after taking possession of the medal, flag and letter which came from the great Chief of the White Men, had continued with a wicked heart for strangers, and even for his own people, getting angry and treating them badly on every occasion; that he was the author of a recent murder committed in their village, that of a Sioux, his wife and three children, who were living among them, in spite of the fact that he had promised me to live in peace with those of the Sioux village who lived there, and to which belonged this man and his family. They had even eaten and smoked together.

Instead of maintaining peace with the Mandans and Gros Ventres, he had had their horses stolen. That without doubt the medal, the flag and the letter, who

were great spirits, had become angry, for three of his children had died, and what is more, lightning had struck the hut of his own brother who, with his wives, children, dogs and horses tied before the door, had been reduced to ashes.

This accident happening to befall this man, above all others, known to have broken his promise to the White Men, and not having behaved in the manner imposed upon him, in the presence of all the esteemed ones of his Nation, had a terrible effect on the minds of all these Nations and confirmed anew their belief that the White Men were great spirits and all powerful.

Most of the old men of the Cheyennes, according to reports, openly denounced the conduct of this young Chief, reproached him for his wicked heart, his lack of attention and submission to the words of the White Men by whom they were now visibly punished by the Master of Life, just as I had predicted.

The Ricaras Nation, as I have said, is a little more enlightened than those farther away and yet this occurrence gave them much to think about.

On the 20th of the month, a Sioux village which they call "Ta Corpa," numbering eighty huts, came to join the Sioux village, which has settled here, and who are really the only friends of the Ricaras, having the same sentiments and character; these newly arrived Sioux, as well as another band called Chahony,* who are soon to come here, usually wander over the country North East of the Missouri, but not finding any wild oxen or cows thereabouts, are forced to the West of this river, where these animals are found in great numbers.

Ta Coropa

The Ricaras and this Sioux Nation live together peacefully. The former receive them in order to obtain guns, clothes, hats, kettles, cloths, etc., which are given them in exchange for their horses. They humor

* "I cannot identify these people with any known band of Sioux" Robinson 7: 473

them through fear and to avoid making too many enemies among the Sioux, who would inevitably overpower them.

The last frequent the Ricaras and make them great promises to live with them in peace and harmony, in order that they may smoke their tobacco, eat their Indian wheat and hunt freely the wild oxen and beaver, on their lands during the Fall and Winter. In the Spring they withdraw to the other shore, from whence they usually return to steal their horses and sometimes to kill them.

It is their custom every Spring to meet the other Sioux villages, situated on the St. Pierre and De Moines rivers, with whom they trade their furs for merchandise.*

Journal kept by J. B. Truteaux, Agent for the Company of the Upper Missouri, addressed to Messrs. Clamorgan and Reihle, Directors of the Company.

Commenced the first of June, 1795.

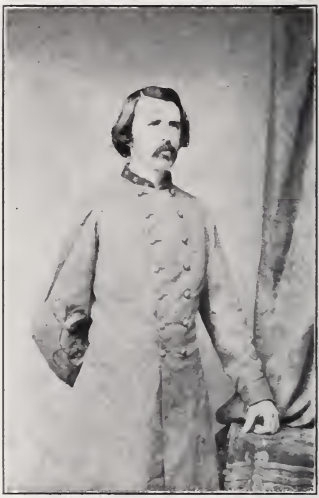
Howard County: Commonly called Boons-Lick Settlement.

A report having been circulated that provisions in this part of the country are extravagantly high (probably for the purpose of preventing emigration) the undersigned pledges himself to those who wish to settle at the above-named place, that the crop of corn is tolerably good and can he had at two shillings per bushel, pork and beef at three dollars per cwt. (particularly beef). Pork is not very plenty, and may probably be higher: that article may rise to $4 per cwt.

Oct. 22, 1816. Asa Morgan.

Missouri Gazette, 26 Oct., 1816.

*Following this line, are three more lines that have been so carefully erased as to be illegible.



Edmund B. Hull

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE LINES IN 1863.

By Mrs. Lizzie Chambers Hull.

(Read at a Meeting of the Society, 12 December, 1905.)

You have kindly but most unexpectedly requested me to write for your entertainment some reminiscences of a trip made by me through southern Missouri and northern Arkansas during the Civil War. The flood gates of memory are hard to close when once opened, but I shall confine myself to only a few weeks of all those long days and years, and I warn you that there will be nothing of historic value therein; only a young girl's glimpse of a life so totally different from that she left at home that it scarcely seemed possible the two could exist in the same State.

The people of southern Missouri and northern Arkansas were, for the most part, utterly illiterate at that time. The raids from bands of one side or the other kept them in a state of continual unrest, and made conditions of life on farms harder and more discouraging than they were before or after the war. Then too, those with whom we came in contact were not the wide awake bright young fellows who had cast their lot with North or South and were fighting valiantly, offering up their lives for what they deemed the right on far off battle fields. Those we saw were at home for various reasons; inertia, indecision as to which side were really the safer to drop on, or inability to leave large and helpless families. For the size of those families was something remarkable. Not a one-room cabin but sheltered, after a fashion, its quota of from seven to fourteen white-headed children. Boys seemed to predominate, and George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were met with frequently.

An entire brigade of small Sterling Prices were along that road, but I noticed, with some amusement, that those little citizens seldom enjoyed their full patronymic in public. At least, near Federal camps they were usually addressed as "Ster", which might easily pass unnoticed and was less compromising.

After securing passes and very commendatory letters of introduction to the officers in command of the intervening Federal troops, from Col. Dick, General Blair and President Lincoln, all personal friends of my Mother, we went down one frosty morning in November, 1863, to the little town of Ironton on the Iron Mt. railroad, where we found an ambulance with two strong mules and driver, waiting to take us on a long journey overland, "through the lines", to find my husband, a Colonel in the Confederate Army, stationed somewhere in this State or in Arkansas. Very hazy it seems now, but to my inexperience it seemed that "through the lines" was a tangible barrier of blue coats, to be slipped through a dark night, or boldly faced with pass and letter, and, once on the other side, the Confederate Army would obligingly unfold itself to view, immediately in front. I was younger than I need to have been at my age.

Perhaps a little very personal history just here may be pardoned, as it shows the usage of the underground, or grapevine telegraph of those days, and explains the reason for this trip. By means of one of these mysterious messages, received two weeks before we started, my Mother was bidden to come to a certain house on, I think, Biddle Street, go up the outside stairs, knock twice, wait, then knock three times and she would see some one and hear something of importance to her from the South. She was to come alone and I was to know nothing of her coming, unless she decided to tell me afterward. Without hesitation, she went alone to Biddle Street, knocked as directed, and

was ushered into a small room, where there was a Confederate blockade-runner, who brought in and took out letters and parcels. He had letters for her from two southern officers, telling of my husband's illness from typhoid fever and that he had been left on the border, apparently dying, when his regiment went into Arkansas. They said if she decided it was best to bring me down there to hunt him up (for they had not been able to return to Missouri for the purpose), an ambulance with a trusty southern soldier as driver, would be waiting for us at Ironton, on such a date, and that Colonel ———— of this city would give her all other particulars. She then visited Col. ———— who had received the same grapevine message and was expecting her. He explained to her the safest route to follow and what things we must be sure to take, for, after we left the railroad, there would be no other chance to replenish our commissary or medical stores. He said he received almost nightly communications from the South, and as no farther advices had been sent, he was of the opinion that we should find my husband convalescing.

A stranger would greet us as an old friend when we stepped from the train at Ironton, he said, who would take us at once to our ambulance; that a young man, quite rural in appearance, would, apparently accidentally, join us about two miles out from Ironton. He was a St. Louis physician, southward bound, who would continue with us until we reached the southern lines, if possible. All of which, mysterious as it sounded, came to pass exactly as planned.

A Federal officer came forward at Ironton, for the purpose we presume of inspecting our passes, but the expected stranger was there ahead of him and volunteered the surprising information that we were his mother and sister, "down for a little visit", and before we had time to collect our thoughts, he had

whisked us off out of sight, tucked us and our various parcels securely away in the waiting ambulance, bade us God speed, and our long journey had begun. The young physician joined us a few miles out, and, by dint of good driving, we made our first stopping place by "early candlelight", as they called it down there.

After the very first day, the roads grew rougher, the accommodations more uncomfortable and the fare more unpalatable. I had been let into enough of the secrets of our leaving to weave out of them a most delightfully exciting romance, which served to buoy up my spirits, never inclined to droop, through many days of dire discomfort. But, after the dull blankness of the lives of those we met was fully realized, all the romance I had so elaborately conjured up out of the journey, completely vanished, and our only excitement was to guess if we should make our next stopping place before dark, if they would take us in, or force us to go on still farther, or if we should run across any foraging Federal or Confederate troops during the day, always more to be dreaded than regulars. Strange to say, we met none. At noon we would stop near running water, when our good driver would first feed and water his mules, then he, or the Doctor, would build a little fire on which we made our tea or coffee, tin cans were opened, and we sat around in quiet comfort for an hour or more. Later, as the want of ordinary cleanliness among the people was borne in upon us, we made this our bathing time as well. And the clear cold water washed away many a heart ache with the dust.

The houses along the way consisted of one room, usually, and as I have said, always an immense family. It must have been a constantly recurring mathematical problem to stow them away of nights. These ignorant, ague-ridden poor little mortals were being "raised" precisely as the pigs. Occasionally, a knife,

pencil or piece of candy gladdened the heart of some child who had never before, perhaps, received a present. There were no "thank you's" heard, but a firmer grip on the insignificant gift, an unconscious drawing-in of the breath and wider-opening of the eye, showed the silent rapture. They were stoics, these little martyrs. There seemed a strange lack of tender mothering, and, so far as I could see, these pale, sad-faced babies made no complaint of their incessant "agey-fever", shook when they had to, and crept off alone to the spring to get a cool drink when the fever came on.

We were always given the best these poor people had to offer, and in return, we gave them, of course, money, and occasionally flannel and quinine, for of the former, we had all of our lap robes and blankets made of yards of grey, lined with more yards of white or red, and quinine filled each tuck and hem of every garment we owned, as both were contraband and exceedingly prized. Beds in these cabins were primitive, made of poles pushed through holes in the walls and propped up with forks of trees, to which the leaves were sometimes still clinging. On these poles were laid beds of coarse ticking filled with straw. When the beds overflowed, the floor, even under the beds, was utilized. On one occasion, I amused myself by putting my foot through a hole in the wall by our bed, to watch the hungry pigs outside rear on their hind legs in a vain attempt to reach it.

At another time, we were buoyed up for days by glowing reports of a fine house and farm we should reach near the border, and where, from the description, we hoped to enjoy a room to ourselves, and, possibly, attain the luxury of an indoor bath. As we drove down a long lane, that eventful afternoon, at dusk, we saw on either side a plank fence, which we had never met with before, and which had once been painted or whitewashed, for it shone beautifully white

in the hazy twilight. When we reached the door-yard, it was a little discomforting to see the front gate off its hinges and lying in the weeds by the side, and the steps to the front porch badly broken and pieced out with log and stump. But the house was unquestionably a two story frame, which had also once been painted, so we took courage, climbed the rickety steps, walked gingerly over the broken boards of the porch and knocked at the front door, or that which we presumed to be the front, for there were three, in line, opening on to the porch, and no window. A swarm of the usual dirty pale-faced children fell over each other to answer the unusual sound, for it appeared it was not the custom to knock, but as our host said, to "lift the latch and walk right in". When the door was opened and they caught a glimpse of us, the swarm rushed off pell-mell into some outer darkness to spread the news. Then a tall, thin, slow-speaking woman appeared, wearing a blue sun-bonnet, followed by a taller, thinner, slower-speaking man, wearing a battered old felt hat pulled down over his eyes, and little children, all with hats or sun-bonnets although it was dark, darted about in the intervening spaces. The woman explained, later, that, in addition to the usual "shakes", they were having "a spell o' sore eyes", hence the use of hats and sunbonnets.

As we stood on the uncertain porch, we said, with all the insinuating grace at our command, that, having heard for days of their fine farm and comfortable home, we should deem ourselves truly fortunate if we might be allowed to remain with them until we should be sent for from Pocahontas, for our driver was to go gack to the railroad from here, on some secret errand; that we had had a long hard trip from St. Louis, and should like, if possible, to have a room to ourselves, for which we were willing to pay well. No answer—not even a slight change of expression, so

far as we could make out in the gloom. We were ushered immediately into a large room to our right, entirely bare of furniture, except three wooden bedsteads in three separate corners of the room, with the inevitable straw beds, and, what was worse, dirty feather beds on these; two boxes for seats and a broken chair drawn up to the empty fireplace. Our spirits fell at sight of the accommodations, and, when we made them understand that we wished to wash in our room before supper instead of going out to the pump, there ensued an animated argument at the back door, whence emerged, after a while, a small girl bearing aloft, with evident, though suppressed, triumph, a rusty, diminutive tin basin, half-full of water. The basin when placed on the hearth was wobbly and very leaky, because of a hole in the bottom plugged up with a dirty rag. And this was our only hope for a bath! Foot-tubs they had never seen, wash-tubs were not used, for it was less trouble, when laundering became imperative, to take the clothes down to the "branch".

The ménu here, as elsewhere, was invariably fat pork or bacon, fried and served in an unnecessary quantity of grease, corn cakes and coffee made from everything but the coffee bean; corn meal, rye and sweet potatoes being most used, the latter the least objectionable for the fumes of the rye and meal often assailed our nostrils most unpleasantly before our stopping places were even in sight. Occasionally, a cabbage boiled or fried very greasily made some variation. Sorghum molasses took the place of sugar and, toward the close of the war, even that grew scarce. There was never milk or butter on these country tables. We asked our imperturbable host why was it the case here, when he had large herds of cattle on his thousand-acre farm. He acknowledged having a "power o' cows", but they were never milked, he

explained, "coz, looked like Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson an the rest o' the boys, was allers a' shaking too hard to run down the cows, an' he hadn't no cow-dog to set on em", so luckily for the cows, if they had to be brought home after that fashion, they were left, with their calves, to browse in peace in the green pastures.

At bedtime a troop of men came, single-file like Indians, into our exclusive apartment, and, when we asked the reason therefor, our hostess assured us that no-one should sleep in there with us, "cepen your two men an our four boys", "your two men" meaning the young St. Louis physician and our driver and "our four boys", four rough uncouth, scared youths from ten to sixteen years of age.

I often wondered if these stolid, unseeing people realized that Nature had been most prodigal in her gifts to them. Their soil was of the finest, their hills and valleys in early morning sunlight, or softened by the mists of evening, were gloriously beautiful, their streams so clear and cold and rapid. Spring River, for instance, rises at once full-panoplied, like Minerva, from myriads of strong mighty springs in the space of an acre. Current River is so swift and sinuous in its windings that an Indian, in his canoe, might find it exciting. Black, which, later, becomes a branch of White River, in Arkansas, rushes deeply and darkly by overhanging cliffs. And woods and prairies alternate most agreeably throughout. Was all this wealth of beauty to be forever as unappreciated by man as by the cattle in his fields? Perhaps, the blackened chimneys, standing sentinel over ruined homes, burned by Federal or Confederate in these counties, might have told of tragedies so deep enacted there that brains were seared, and hands, thereafter, found it not worth while to labor. Where Nature had been so kind, Man had been so cruel and pitiless War had drawn its black mantle over all this fair spot.

I hear that that part of our country is blossoming as the rose; that school houses rear their roofs through the woodlands and the whir of steam mill and rush of locomotive is heard there now. The inhabitants thereof, they say, have taken on so much animation under the new order of things, that they no longer require a post or tree for support when entering into a short conversation with a stranger. They no longer silently whittle three minutes by the watch before they finally give such explicit directions to Pocahontas as the following: "Wall, if you-uns is a goin to try to git to Pokie, you'll have ter travel right smart. Go two miles on the big-blaze, turn a quarter or so till you-uns pass the barns, then take the two-blaze to the crossin on Leven Pints. An ef you-uns kin cross it, but it is mighty onsartain, this time o' year, git back to the big-blaze the fust chance you git, an keep right on till you-uns git thar". Big-blaze and two and three-blaze, we found, meant State and county roads. Eleven-Points River was more or less treacherous, and "the barns" were desolate, wind-swept, barren prairies. Had not this Greek been easily translateable to our driver, we had been searching, still, possibly, for barns and blazes.

"We-uns", however, did reach "Pokie", in spite of peculiar instructions, where we were comfortably housed for the first time since leaving home. When Col. Burbridge's command fell back we accompanied it to Batesville, where finally, we came upon the long sought officer. And from there my Mother returned to Missouri to General Davidson's command, who most courteously sent her, under full military escort, safely and comfortably to the Iron Mt. railroad. While I, a wanderer upon the face of the earth, began my most inglorious military career, sometimes in wagon, sometimes in ambulance, oftener on horseback, because of dangerously swollen streams, but, always and every-

where, in advance on a retreat and far in the rear on an advance.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

Pres. Mo. Hist. Society.

Dear Sir:

I have been exceedingly dilatory in replying to your kind note of May 10th because of many other less pleasant duties. Yet, it seems rather appropriate, after all, that I should write the sketch you asked for on this particular day, for on the 18th day of July, 1861, Edward Brodie Hull, the subject of the sketch, then of Auburn, Lincoln Co., Mo., was married to Lizzie Chambers of St. Louis at the residence of her brother-in-law, Archer Bankhead, of "Hillwood", Pike Co., Mo.

Because of Mr. Hull's pronounced Southern sympathy and consequent danger of arrest, the date of the wedding was announced as one week later than intended and on that particular evening pickets were stationed on all the roads leading to the house, that warning might be given of the approach of Home Guards from Bowling Green. Such warning was duly given a few hours after the ceremony and the groom precipitately fled to the safe shelter of the near-by woods, mid a clatter of horses' hoofs and excited tongues. The next day he left for camp in Lincoln Co., whence he made very infrequent sorties, until the company left for the war, never to return until after Gen. Buckner's surrender in 1865.

Mr. Hull was born on his Father's farm in Lincoln Co. on the 30th June, 1839. At the first mutterings of impending war, he returned from Oxford, Miss., where he was attending college, to raise a company in Pike and Lincoln counties in 1860, of which he was elected captain. They drilled at first openly on the prairies of Pike, where, during that summer, Gen.

Grant who was visiting his brother-in-law, Dr. Sharpe of Auburn, met the men and, at Capt. Hull's request, drilled them in cavalry tactics.

These were pleasant gatherings and probably few, if any, of those present believed there would be actual war. In fact, their ideas of war between the States were exceedingly hazy, as was war of any kind, and, because of their firm belief in State sovereignty and the constitutional right to secede, not one voice was ever raised, in those preliminary days, to counsel compromise, or a bloodless war of words on the floors of Congress, rather than a resort to arms to settle differences of opinion. Later in the summer they drilled wherever they could gather in safety in either county, friends cheerfully offering as scouts or pickets on such occasions.

This little company answered Jackson's first call for troops but went only as far as Fairview, Saline Co., when news of Price's retreat reached them and they returned home temporarily. They then united with five other companies recruited in Pike, Lincoln, St. Charles, Warren and Montgomery counties forming a battalion, of which Mr. Hull was made Lt. Col. and Mr. Dwyer of St. Charles, Major.

On the 3rd of September, 1861, they broke camp at Big Creek, Lincoln Co., at the call of Gen. Tom Harris, District Commander State Guard, to join Gen. Sterling Price at Lexington, Mo., where these country boys, for the great majority were only boys, had their first taste of genuine war. They fancied they had "roughed it" on the march to Lexington and had enjoyed the new experience. Their letters home were bubbling over with enthusiasm; they intended making short shrift of "the enemy" and would soon, very soon, return. But the oldest, wisest head among them had not even guessed what real war meant; what it meant to be sick, wounded, hungry, penniless and in

rags, hearing occasionally or not at all, from those they had left behind, gleaning sometimes from a belated newspaper of a home burned, a family banished, an aged father thrown in prison, vicarious punishment for the absent one. Yet, these boys, fearlessly and faithfully, trudged on. There were few desertions, no complaints. They were doing what they felt certain was their duty and when death, from privation, disease or wounds, drew near, the invariable message was, "tell them at home when you get back, that I died as a patriot should". At the same time the same messages from the Federal side were finding their way back, usually more speedily, to the sad-eyed watchers at home. Mistaken patriotism and blinded statesmanship were burying this beautiful land under a sea of brothers' blood, the awful memory of which may never be effaced.

At Lexington this battalion aided to the best of its ability, in the defeat of Col. Mulligan and capture of his arms and stores. In Gen. Harris' report of the engagement "Lt. Cols. Brace and Hull" and "Hull and Brace" figured largely for meritorious conduct. But here Col. Hull was severely wounded, while looking over the pile of hemp bales which the State troops had rolled up as a breastwork close to the Federal fortifications. He continued, however, with the command and at Springfield, Mo., they went into their first winter quarters.

At this time Gen. Little enrolled as many of the Mo. State Guard as would go into the regular Confederate service "for the war", the 1st Brigade, Gen. Little commanding being composed of 1st regiment infantry, Col. Burbridge, with Lt. Col. Hull and Maj. Dwyer, 2nd regiment infantry, Col. Reeves, cavalry regiment, Col. Gates and two batteries of artillery Capt's Wade and Churchill Clark respectively.

The long march to Springfield was attended, neces-

sarily, by unusual discomforts, one of the many unpleasant happenings, being, that, when the men made their beds, if so it may be called, across or between corn rows, they would find, on waking the next morning, that the snow which had somewhat softened the downy couch the night before, had nicely melted into a clear cold pool about them! These untoward occurrences brought to Col. Hull the only attack of acute rheumatism he has ever had and, not being able to ride, he had to submit to being hauled in an ambulance. This stiffening of the joints was the cause of a good joke on himself which he often tells. When Gen. Curtiss with 16,000 men advanced on Springfield, Gen. Price was forced to fall back to Cross Hollows, Ark., to join Gen. McCulloch who refused to come into the State. The evening before they expected to begin the retreat a group of officers were sitting around the camp fire, presumably smoking, when a bomb from the supposedly distant enemy fell in their midst, followed by another and still another. A wild scramble ensued to get out of range, the Col. as spry as the best. The next day it occurred to him, while riding along, that, for a lame man, he had mounted his horse the night before with exceeding agility and had never once thought of rheumatism since! He therefore always gives this as a tried and sure cure for stiff joints; an unexpected bomb (preferably three) thrown by a concealed enemy into an unprepared camp! For my part, I prefer the rheumatism and shall never try the remedy.

After the union with McCulloch the army went into quarters at Fayetteville, Ark., until Gen. Van Dorn, who was sent from the other side of the Mississippi, joined them and took command of the entire Trans-Mississippi troops.

I should very much like to tell of the hurried march back to attack Curtiss, encamped at Pea Ridge and

Elk Horn Tavern, from which two places the ensuing battle received its two names, the Missourians fighting valorously and successfully at Elk Horn; of their driving the enemy slowly back after an all day fight and resting that night on the battle field; of their capture of the Tavern with its much appreciated sutler's stores, also, incidentally, two loaded caissons, intended for Sigel, which were driven into their camp by two unsuspicious Germans, the ammunition badly needed; of their amazement at being ordered to retreat the next day; of their unwilling departure from their beloved state and, soon after, from the Trans-Miss. department to Corinth, Miss.; all this and much more; but, fearing I have already overstepped my limit, I shall leave that for, possibly, another time.

Few of the opposite side can understand, even now, how the men of the South could have fought against their country conscientiously. They do not know that State Sovereignty was the Southerner's earliest political creed and that many—oh, so many!—went into the war with anti-slavery and anti-secession sentiments, but every one was firmly convinced that, as his State commanded, so must he do. And they did their best! Now that the blackened page is closed in forever it is well to judge dispassionately.

Most respectfully,

Lizzie Chambers Hull.

July 18, 1912.

Hannah Isabella Stagg

LOCAL INCIDENTS OF THE CIVIL WAR.

By Mrs. Hannah Isabella Stagg.[1]

My subject suggests the sentiment expressed by the immortal Lincoln—"With malice toward none, and with charity to all," and, with this in view, I will relate some of the local incidents of that tremendous struggle—the Civil War.

It was on a beautiful Sabbath morning in April, 1861, that the telegraph bore the message that Fort Sumter had surrendered to General Beauregard. This startling news unfitted many for going to church, while all were anxious and excited.

That the flag was down, was a signal for war; but no one dreamed that it would be so costly in blood and treasure, or that it would last for four long years.

Those who lived in the border States occupied a critical and uncertain position, as these States had cast their lot neither with the North nor the South; but soon the line as to sentiment was drawn, with the Unionists on one side and the Secessionists on the other, and nowhere was the conflict sharper than in our own State and City.

A memorable day was that of the capture of the rebel Camp Jackson, which occupied the open country at what is now Olive Street and Grand Avenue, and which extended southward and eastward. Schools and houses of business were closed, and men, women and children thronged the streets bareheaded and excited. A neighbor, who was a Secessionist, on seeing the Home Guards approaching the camp, demanded a

[1]This paper was presented to the Society by Mrs. Stagg in 1907. Mrs. Stagg died at her home, 3625 Delmar Avenue, St. Louis, on Saturday, the fifth day of December, 1908. A sketch of her life will be found in Hyde and Conard's *Cyclopaedia of the History of St. Louis*, Vol. 4, page 2115.

gun with which to shoot them, at the same time unfurling a black flag. Another brother prayed the Lord to cause the earth to open and engulf both North and South, as neither was fit to live.

From the day of the capture of Camp Jackson there was an estrangement between friends and neighbors—a condition that extended, more or less, to all departments of social and business life.

Nor did the fires of dissension burn less fiercely in the churches. The ministers were as intensely partisan as were their parishioners, and, while the same God was worshiped by those opposing each other, it was in separate sanctuaries. While the Secessionists prayed for the success of their cause, the Unionists prayed for its defeat.

Some of those who had discarded the flag instructed their children to walk around and not under it, should they meet it on their way to school, while the Unionists taught their children to keep as near to it as possible. With these counter influences, the children of '61-'65 were veritable little warriors, with their tongues, if not with more deadly weapons.

No Unionist ever displayed the old flag without the knowledge of the fact that it was an unwelcome sight to those who had ceased to love and honor it. That it had a rival that was seeking to subvert its power and prestige was a source of grief and anxiety to the loyal citizen, and thus it was he held it with a death grip—a condition of affairs of which those of to-day, when the flag is universally respected, have no conception.

The first time the national colors were displayed in churches was during the Civil War, and that by a few Unionists who timidly made the venture, as there were those even of their own party who doubted its propriety. Our Southern friends objected, on the ground that it was a political demonstration and a sacrilege.

Many things were said and done, on both sides, in

those unhappy years that were unworthy of an enlightened and Christian people. This anomalous condition was owing to the fact that the angel of peace had departed, and the demon of war, who robs us of our better nature, was ruling in our hearts and homes.

The defeat of the Federal army at Bull Run was a severe blow to Unionists, some of whom were so deeply affected they retired to their homes and their beds; nor was the cry "On to Richmond!" heard quite so often during those dark hours. Meanwhile, our Southern friends were jubilant, declaring the war was over and they the victors.

Typical hero worshipers were our Southern friends, to whom the names of Robert Lee and Jefferson Davis were the synonyms of all that is best in the soldier and the statesman. If confidence in leaders were the only essential to success, the Southern Confederacy would to-day be among the sisterhood of nations.

The Spanish-American war was fought on foreign soil; the Civil War was at our doors, if not in actual battle, its paraphernalia everywhere visible, and the tread of the soldier and the beat of the drum proclaimed that we were not far from the scene of conflict.

Above the roar of battle was heard a voice urging woman to assume a new and important role in the great drama that was being enacted; not as an aspirant of fame and applause, but as a helper to those who, through stress of war, were far from home and kindred. The call was the more imperative from the fact that neither the trained nurse nor the Red Cross Society had come, with their beneficient service, to the hospital and battlefield, and the call was soon answered by the formation of the Ladies' Union Aid Society, with Mrs. Alfred Clapp as President, and Mesdames T. M. Post, Samuel C. Davis and Robert Anderson, Vice Presidents.

Under the able leadership of Mrs. Clapp, the Society attained prestige and success, and was a nucleus around which centered the loyal element of the City and State, resulting in a large and enthusiastic membership. The Society occupied rooms on Fifth and Chestnut Streets, the site on which now stands the Laclede Hotel. Every day committees were present, making garments and bandages for the sick and wounded soldiers, and conducting an extensive correspondence. The official paper was bordered with red, white and blue; in the left hand corner were a flag and a streamer; on the latter was the legend "Union forever."

Each member owned a small silk flag, which she displayed on occasion. In many homes this memento is found to-day, carefully preserved.

In the building in which the Ladies' Aid Society was held was a hospital. When the members first saw the dead soldiers placed in a rude wagon, "unwept and unsung," they were deeply touched, but, as others, and still others, were borne in the same manner to their lonely burial, these friends of the soldiers learned that tender tributes belong to peace and not to war. Once a week were presented reports of visits to the barracks and hospitals, and how full of pathos they were, relating to the sick and dying soldiers, and their last message to mother, sister and wife! There were amusing stories as well, for even grim-visaged war sometimes wears a humorous face, and while there were tears, there was many a laugh at the expense of the officers and men, who, though they were not sick, were visited and supplied with articles of comfort and convenience. On the visiting list were no more interesting persons than the Confederate prisoners—those who were sick, some of whom occupied a building on Fourth Street near Washington Avenue. Although they represented the other side of the great

conflict, there was no controversy; these women were on an errand of mercy; they wrote letters and did what they could for these brothers, for they were their brothers even then; and how appreciative and gentlemanly they were!

The amount of good accomplished by the members of the "Ladies' Union Aid Society" is unwritten and untold. Theirs were the silent forces it is woman's province to compass, and which are essential to all great movements. That the women used these forces lovingly and faithfully during the sad years they were called to labor, is the tribute they have justly won—those who are still here and the others whose forms are resting now, like those to whom they ministered,

> "Under the green of the grass,
> Under the blue of the sky."

A valuable help to the Ladies' Aid Society was the Sanitary Commission, consisting of Messrs. James E. Yeatman, Carlos Greeley, George Partridge, Rev. Doctor Eliot and Dr. J. B. Johnson, all of whom have joined the "silent majority." As the Ladies' Aid Society and Sanitary Commission had offices in the same building, they were enabled to co-operate efficiently until the close of the war.

Another organization of loyal women was the Ladies' National League, whose emblem was a silver star. In promoting the Union cause its influence was in a different direction from that of the Union Aid Society—social rather than benevolent. In those stirring times there was work for all; not only were the soldiers and their families to be provided for, but the refugees and the freedman were thronging about us with pathetic appeals for food and clothing.

The most interesting event in the history of the war, as it relates to our city, was the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers, under the auspices of the Western Sanitary

Commission. This great festival was located on 12th Street, and extended from Olive to Locust Streets, covering the entire square. Its doors were opened to the public on the 17th of May, 1864. Major General Rosecrans was President, and Governor Willard Hall, Vice President. Its most distinguished honorary members were Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant. The local offices were filled by the Mayor and other prominent citizens. Of the Woman's Department, Mrs. Chauncey I. Filley was President, Mrs. General Van Antwerp and Miss Phoebe Couzins, Secretaries, and Mrs. Samuel Copp, Treasurer. Some of the ablest and most accomplished women our city has produced lent their brain and hand to this humane and patriotic enterprise and helped to make it a grand pecuniary success. No appeal had ever been made that so touched the hearts of the people as that in behalf of the sick and wounded soldiers. From all parts of the country money and other gifts poured in until there was room for no more. Nothing so unique as this Fair had ever been seen in our city. Its "Grand Fancy Court," its handsome decorations, its art galleries, the Delphic Oracle—where General Grant had his fortune told—the immense shoe with his daughter Nellie (now Mrs. Sartoris) as old woman, with hundreds of dolls as obedient children; the fishing pond, with "its cool, mossy bank," the prettily costumed maidens as attendants, and countless other things attracted the lovers of the beautiful, who for several weeks thronged the aisles day and night.

And there was the "Daily Countersign," published by the Ladies' Executive Committee, and whose columns, under the brilliant editorship of Miss Anna Bracket, were aglow with wit and wisdom.

During the progress of the Fair occurred a peculiar incident. The Reverend Doctor Nelson of the First Presbyterian Church, a man highly esteemed, invited

some colored preachers to take lunch in the restaurant of the Fair. As soon as these colored men appeared, a sensation followed. The visitors were indignant, the attendants left their booths, and the waiters, who were young ladies, refused to perform their duties. But the Doctor held his ground, and, finally, one of the young ladies, in spite of opposition, offered her services, so that the Doctor and his guests got what they came for. The news of this episode flew with lightning speed to all parts of our city, and for several days was the "town talk." After this episode the Doctor was never quite so highly esteemed by his Southern friends.

And now we are interested in knowing what our Confederate friends were doing. While "All quiet on the Potomac" was often heard in a national sense, it had no reference to our city. From the opening scene at Sumter, to its close at Appomattox, there was never a day that hearts were not throbbing and hands were not busy as never before. The Southern women were looking after the boys in gray as far as possible. As our city was under martial law, their efforts were restricted. The headquarters of the Southern soldiers were at the old McDowell College, on 8th and Gratiot Streets. A certain lady,[2] by her eloquent appeals, found favor with the Federal officers, who opened to her the doors of Confederate

[2]This lady was Mrs. Fannie M. Coons, wife of Dr. A. J. Coons, well known in professional and social life. They were Virginians by birth and naturally their sympathies were with the South, especially was this the case with Mrs. Coons. Her activities on behalf of the Confederacy led to her arrest and banishment to our neighboring town of Carlyle, Illinois. She, however, "ran the blockade" very often, and always in safety, as she was an adept in disguises. I used to tell her that I would expose her, but she knew that I would not and therefore she came to me; my northern sentiments being so well known that my visitors were unsuspected. The end of the war found our friendship unbroken—a phenomenal experience. Dr. and Mrs. Coons left two daughters, who are now living in Omaha.—Author's Note.

prisons and hospitals, which privileges she used in effecting the escape of a number of soldiers, under the guise of feminine garments, the lady applying the adage "all is fair in war." Her home was the rendezvous of all who entertained the same views as herself. Her larder overflowed with delicacies furnished by their friends for the Confederate soldiers. The courage and activities of this affable woman made her a heroine, and, eventually, a martyr. It was she who was a prominent figure in a bazaar held in old Mercantile Library Hall, and whose proceeds were to be applied to needy Southern soldiers, but the Federal officers were of the opinion that the Fair had other objects, and one evening when all was bright and joyous they arrested several of its promoters. Doubtless those who were present on that occasion adopted the sentiment of Madame Roland—"O Liberty! How many crimes have been committed in thy name!" Those who were arrested were soon released, with the exception of "a certain lady." As she refused to comply with the requirements of the officers, she was banished to a not distant town in Illinois. It was not unusual when our city was under military rule to banish women to other States and to Canada—those who were active in the Rebel cause. In the case of our friend the blockade was not so secure but that she came and went whenever she chose. Early one morning this lady appeared at the house of a friend, disguised as an old woman. Between the hostess and the guest was a warm affection that had survived a difference of opinion concerning the war, and the latter knew that in the house of her friend she was safe from Federal and other espionage. Although this lady had sacrificed her personal and pecuniary interests on the altar of the "Lost Cause," no one yielded to the results of the war more gracefully than she; no one was imbued with a sweeter spirit. She is now a dweller

in the Better Land. Were she here she could furnish many a thrilling story connected with the most momentous period of our country's history.

A building occupied by Southern ladies who had given "aid and comfort to the enemy" was located on Seventh and Chestnut Streets. I opine that Uncle Sam laid his hand very gently on these interesting wards and that they were not long detained.

The pleasantries in which these "fair women and brave men"—the Federal officers—indulged, were among the prophecies of the fraternal feeling which our once estranged countrymen now enjoy, and which is the crowning glory in the annals of our nation.

An important Convention was that held in old Mercantile Library Hall, and which brought together the Unionists and Secessionists as nothing else had done during the war. The question was the adoption or rejection of the ordinance of secession. Who that was present on that occasion will forget its pathos, its significance, the vast assemblage, the distinguished speakers? Who will forget the joy of the Unionists when it was decided that grand old Missouri, after all her struggles, would henceforth adhere to the Union and proudly uphold the flag—the flag that had been trailed in the dust, not by foreign foes, but by her own citizens.

The climax of the four years of agony was reached on the morning of the 15th of April, 1865, when the news came of the assassination of President Lincoln. Leaving the morning meal untasted, the people ran into the streets and gathered in groups to discuss the great tragedy. Preparations had been made for a peace celebration, our homes had been decorated with flags, portraits and mottoes, and candles were in the windows ready for illumination, but, when the news came of the President's death, in a short time public and private houses were draped in mourning, and

everywhere were inscriptions indicating the noble character of him whose life had gone out so suddenly and so cruelly. The people gathered within the churches, which the day before had been handsomely decorated, but which were now hung in black. The friends of the Government had planned to join hearts in giving thanks to God that through the awful strain the Union was still unbroken, and that the Angel of Peace was once more hovering over our worn and bleeding country. But now they came together with burdened hearts to speak of their great loss, and to honor the memory of their beloved and lamented President—the story of whose life and death they will tell their children and children's children—the story which the Muse of History will never erase from her page, the poet from his song, nor the sculptor from his marble, for does it not belong to the ages?

Arrangements were made to attend the funeral of our martyred President, and a large number of city officials, wearing badges of black mingled with the national colors, and private citizens, took the journey to Springfield to attest, by our presence, respect to the memory of him whose death all the civilized world was mourning.

Nor did our Southern friends fail to bring their tribute to the bier of Abraham Lincoln. Many of them had come to realize that he was their friend, and that he had followed them with tender solicitude through all their sorrows and sufferings; they had come to realize that he had loved and prayed for them, when they had not loved nor prayed for him.

Happily, time softens prejudice and reveals truth, and the once popular sentiment entertained by the Northerners—"We'll hang the traitors, everyone," and that held by the Southerners, "The Union is broken, and it is futile to try to mend it," do not enter into the thought of to-day.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SANITARY WORK IN ST. LOUIS DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

By Dr. Roland G. Usher.

Of the many things in which St. Louis has deserved well of state and nation, there are few which were at the time more important and influential than the sanitary work done during the Civil War by the Western Sanitary Commission, the Ladies' Union Aid Society, the St. Louis Provident Association, and others of that type. Those enterprises were wholly initiated by St. Louis men and women, continuous service was rendered, hard and even degrading labor was voluntarily and ungrudgingly performed by high born men and delicate women for no greater reward than the consciousness of a noble work well done. No sanitary work undertaken during the war, East or West, North or South, was more efficiently performed than that directed from St. Louis. Practically the whole burden of ministering to the Union (and in some cases to the Confederate) armies in the Mississippi Valley fell upon the Western Sanitary Commission. This organization not only sent surgeons, nurses, and supplies into the field, but strove by hospitals, soldiers' homes, agents, and advisers, to succor the convalescent, aid the injured to return home, and to do, in short, for any one, Union or Confederate, white or black, free or slave, any service of mercy which he needed. And all this vast amount of work was performed, millions of dollars' worth of supplies distributed and used, thousands of meals provided for the hungry, hundreds of thousands of sick and homeless men temporarily lodged, by an organization of some half a dozen private citizens of St. Louis, none of whom were paid or had had previous experience. As a display of sheer

ability, there has been little in our country's history to equal it; as a record of self-denial, of self abnegation, and of the noblest Christian spirit, I know of nothing to surpass it. And yet, during the late Centennial of the city's history, how seldom was mention made of this jewel in the city's crown of civic honor; how few times in the enumeration of the objects of the city's pride was this counted among them? A thousand lesser deeds were toasted and retold, while this went unsung; a hundred lesser men were named and praised, while these were all but forgotten; swelling population, increasing wealth, commerce, medicine, law, all found their due place, while the greatest feat of distinguished endeavor in the city's history was neglected.

To a certain extent, the members of the Western Sanitary Commission and its allied associations, have no one but themselves to blame for the present ignorance about their aims and achievements. Their modesty and dislike of publicity prevented them from gaining proper recognition from their own and the following generation. They wrote but one lengthy account of their achievements and took no pains to distribute it outside the state of Missouri. They all but allowed the powerful United States Sanitary Commission to deny their existence, and certainly allowed it to appropriate most of the praise due them for their work for the Army of the West. They also failed to deny current slanders and rumors to their discredit in a sufficiently energetic fashion to make much impression on the country at large. Their story is buried in old reports and pamphlets, badly printed, often hastily written, and now very rare. Only two are to be found in any number of St. Louis libraries, only one is generally accessible elsewhere, and only the Washington University Library seems to possess at present any considerable amount of information on

the subject. The following bibliography has been printed in the hope that it may lead to further inquiry into the bibliography and history of this most interesting phase of the Civil War in Missouri, and also in the hope of spreading a little more widely the knowledge of where information can be found:

Report to the Western Sanitary Commission on the General Military Hospitals of St. Louis, Mo. Presented August 1, 1862. pp. 76. St. Louis, R. P. Studley & Co. 1862.

The first sixty-two pages contain the report of S. Pollak, M. D., Sanitary Commissioner, and are interesting but not very valuable. The rest of the tract is of more than ordinary importance. There is a copy of the original order under which the Western Sanitary Commission was established, (p. 63-64); and there follows the "Report of the Western Sanitary Commission, July 1, 1862." This is, however, very brief, comprising a résumé of the resources of the Commission at that date, and acknowledgments of the donations received and distributed. It is signed by all seven members of the Commission.

First Annual Report of the Ladies' Union Aid Society of St. Louis. St. Louis, 1862.

This organization did much work as an auxiliary of the Western Sanitary Commission, and furnished nurses, food, bandages, and supplies to the hospitals in St. Louis. In particular, its members exercised their skill in cooking for the convalescent soldiers, whose recovery depended solely on appetizing nourishment.

Second Annual Report of the Ladies' Union Aid Society of St. Louis. St. Louis, 1863.

The brochure contains (a) the report, pp. 1-29; (b) Gleanings from the weekly Reports of the Visiting

Committees to the various hospitals, pp. 30-45; (c) the constitution of the Society. The evidence contained in the second section of the Report is interesting and extremely valuable and trustworthy.

Organization of the Ladies' National League of St. Louis. St. Louis. No date. (1863.) pp. 18.

Third Annual Report of the St. Louis Provident Association for the Year 1863. Organized Dec. 3, 1860; Incorporated March 17, 1863. St. Louis. 1863. pp. 20.

It seems likely that the first two reports were not printed; they have not yet been traced.

Annual Report of the Western Sanitary Commission for the Years Ending July, 1862, and July, 1863. pp. 32. St. Louis. No date. (1863.)

It is likely that this document was drawn up either by Mr. James Yeatman, the President, or by the Rev. W. G. Eliot, one of the most ardent workers on the Commission and its originator.

Suggestions of a Plan of Organization for Freed Labor and the Leasing of Plantations Along the Mississippi River Under a Bureau or Commission to be Appointed by the Government. Accompanying a Report Presented to the Western Sanitary Commission, by James E. Yeatman, President of the Commission, Dec. 17, 1863. pp. 8. No date. (St. Louis.)

(There is a copy with Mr. Yeatman's autograph in the Washington University Library.)

Report of the Western Sanitary Commission in Regard to the Leasing of Abandoned Plantations with Rules and Regulations Governing the Same. pp. 16. St. Louis, 1864.

These two documents contain by far the fullest and most circumstantial account, amply illustrated with

documents and testimony, of the first attempt to deal with the problem of freedmen in the South. The information it contains was gathered by Mr. Yeatman first hand among the refugees and negroes clustered around the army camps along the Mississippi River in 1863 and 1864. While it is very possibly a little biased in favor of the negro, it is certainly the most reliable information we have.

Report of the Western Sanitary Commission on White Union Refugees of the South, Their Persecutions, Sufferings, Destitute Condition and the Necessity of Giving Aid and Relief on Their Coming to Our Military Posts. pp. 44. St. Louis, 1864.

The Commission seems to have been literally the first of the Sanitary organizations of the war time to grapple systematically with the problem of the white refugees, not only in St. Louis, but also in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Mississippi. The report is full of evidence on the actual condition of the poor whites in the "war states," but does not pretend to generalize except when the data is voluminous.

What the Sanitary Commission is Doing. Stores Sent to Sherman's Army During the Months of June and July, by The Western Sanitary Commission, St. Louis, Mo.

Then follows a list of stores, (signed) W. Cranch, Storekeeper.

Broadside, 1 page, size 3x5⅛; no date.

Second Annual Report (to the Western Sanitary Commission) of the Soldiers' Home, St. Louis, for the Year Ending March 12, 1864. pp. 12.

No date, no place.

The Western Sanitary Commission; What it Does with Its Funds. Why it Should be Aided in its Work. Article in the Missouri Democrat (St. Louis), March 16, 1864.

Reprinted as a separate tract, St. Louis, 1864. pp. 8.

A brief account of the Commission's work, written probably by its Secretary, Rev. Mr. Forman, (or possibly by the Rev. Dr. Eliot) to stimulate contributions of which the Commission at the moment stood in great need. It adds nothing to the information elsewhere accessible.

Circular of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, to be Held in St. Louis, May 17, 1864. Major General W. S. Rosecrans, President. No place; no date.

This Fair was given by the Western Sanitary Commission to raise money, and was very successful. The book following was also written to advertise this Fair.

The Western Sanitary Commission. A Sketch of its Origin, History, Labors for the Sick and Wounded of the Western Armies, and Aid Given to Freedmen and Union Refugees, with Incidents of Hospital Life. pp. 144, and index. St. Louis, 1864. (R. P. Studley & Co.)

Although published anonymously, the tract is almost certainly the work of the Rev. J. G. Forman, who was early in the War Chaplain of the 3rd Missouri Volunteers, then became one of the Western Sanitary Commission's field agents, and was in 1864 its Secretary. (For internal evidence, see p. 112, 113.) He was able to speak from actual experience, and had of course access to all the Commission's records, and to the private correspondence of its members. The book, written to advertise the Sanitary Fair, was naturally very favorable to the Commission; it was also a hasty piece of work (see p. 137, 138); but it contains infor-

mation which is invaluable, consisting for the most part of quotations from letters not now accessible to the historian. It is the best known, and, in fact, one is forced to add, almost the only account of the Commission which is known at all.

(Rev. W. G. Eliot) Loyal Work in Missouri. *North American Review,* April, 1864. Reprinted as a separate pamphlet, with the title Western Sanitary Commission, at St. Louis, 1864, pp. 16; and at Cambridge, Mass., 1864.

This exceedingly mild and too temperate article was written in protest against the unjust treatment accorded the Commission by making no mention of it in an article published on Sanitary Work in the United States in the *North American Review,* January, 1864. The writer further went out of his way to add that Missouri was "outside the sanitary circle." While a corrective of that impression, the article does not go far enough in its claims for the Commission. It was, perhaps, the most that it was advisable to say at the time.

General Report of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, Held in St. Louis May 17, 1864, With the Acknowledgment of the Western Sanitary Commission. pp. 4. St. Louis. 1864.

Third Annual Report of the Ladies' Union Aid Society of St. Louis. pp. 33. St. Louis, 1864.

(J. G. Forman.) Final Report of the Western Sanitary Commission From May 9, 1864, to Dec. 31, 1865. pp. 150. St. Louis, 1866.

Besides these documents directly connected with the sanitary work in the city, there is a considerable amount of data, both concerning the working of these organizations and concerning the conditions which

they were attempting to alleviate, in the reports of various other organizations, state and national.

The United States Christian Commission for Army and Navy. Work and Incidents. First Annual Report. Philadelphia, February, 1863.

Report of Colonel T. P. Robb, Illinois State Sanitary Commissioner, of the Sanitary Condition of Illinois Troops, and Field and General Hospitals in the Armies and Departments of the Ohio, Tennessee, Cumberland, and Division of West Mississippi. pp. 44. Springfield, Illinois, 1865. On p. 20, 26 ff., he gives detailed accounts of his inspection of the St. Louis organizations. This testimony is very important from the critical historian's point of view.

The Philanthropic Results of the War in America, Collected From Official and Other Authentic Sources, by an American Citizen. pp. 42-44 especially. New York, 1863.

Reports of Transactions of the Illinois State Sanitary Bureau From its Organization, Dec. 18, 1862, to Sept. 12, 1863, and Also of the Illinois Sanitary Bureau From Sept. 12, 1863, to Jan. 1, 1864. pp. 98. Springfield, Ill. 1864. especially, p. 13-16.

Annual Report of Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, State Sanitary Agent, to His Excellency William M. Stone, Governor of Iowa, and the Tenth General Assembly, Des Moines, January 13, 1864. Des Moines, 1864. pp. 30. especially, p. 29, 30.

Only two books recently written contain any considerable mention of the sanitary work in the city during the War.

Mrs. C. C. Eliot, Life of William G. Eliot, Minister, Educator, Philanthropist. St. Louis, 1904. p. 212-278.

This admirable book contains the best account ever written of the Western Sanitary Commission. It is, in fact, a model of all that a biography should be. Lack of space, however, made the account necessarily more brief than the importance of the subject might have warranted, or the author's wealth of information dictated.

Galusha Anderson, a Border City in the Civil War. Boston, 1908. p. 288-314.

Professor Anderson has given us an interesting account of his experiences in St. Louis as a clergyman in war time. It is, however, the work of his old age, and represents his recollections rather than actual research, though to a certain extent he has tried to verify his statements. The pages regarding the Commission are inconclusive and rambling, and owe what little information they possess to Forman and Mrs. Eliot.[1]

[1]While not having a direct bearing upon the subject, the three appended titles should have a place in a foot note:

Union and Anti-slavery Speeches, delivered during the Rebellion; by Charles D. Drake.

Published for the benefit of The Ladies' Union Aid Society of St. Louis, Mo. Cincinnati: Applegate & Co. 1864.

The Daily Countersign. Published for the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, May 17 to June 4, 1864. Complete set, including the "Extra", in all, 13 numbers. St. Louis.

Arts in St. Louis. Edited by Wm. Tod Helmuth, M. D., St. Louis, 1864.

Dedicated. "To the Sanitary Commission of the Mississippi Valley and to those whom its philanthropy relieves, the following pages are respectfully inscribed."

It is my understanding that "Arts in St. Louis" was published and sold for the benefit of The Miss. Valley Sanitary Fair.

W. C. Breckinridge.

SOME NOTES ON THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF MISSOURI.

By Gerard Fowke.

Part of the matter in this paper has already appeared in some publication or another, most of it scattered or inaccessible except to the student. The pages following are to be considered only an attempt to collate a portion of the knowledge we have concerning the Indians who at one time occupied the region now included in the State of Missouri. It is not, and is not intended to be, exhaustive, but merely a preliminary attempt to put into convenient form some items which may be of general interest.

The Cahokia Mounds.

For more than a hundred years Saint Louis and its neighbor across the river have been noted as the location of the greatest prehistoric settlement within the limits of the United States. Unless it be some of the newly discovered temple sites in Mexico, of which vague reports have reached us, no other artificial mound in the world, built strictly as a mound, equals in size that which looms so grandly in the American Bottom. Larger piles of earth exist, it is true, in the Old World; but these result from the decay of successive structures upon the same spot; one edifice after another being erected upon the ruins of those which preceded.

By an unfortunate misunderstanding of early religious records, it is generally supposed that the Trappist Monks had their residence on this structure, and so it is popularly known as "Monks' Mound." This, however, is an error; in Brackenridge's "Views of

Louisiana", printed in 1814, it is stated on page 188 that

"The step or apron [meaning the lower terrace] has been used as a kitchen garden by the monks of La Trappe, settled near this, and the top is sowed with wheat."

And again, on page 287:

"The buildings which the Trappists at present occupy, are merely temporary; they consist of four or five cabins, on a mound about fifty yards high, and which is perhaps one hundred and fifty feet square. Their other buildings, cribs, stables, etc., ten or fifteen in number, are scattered about on the plain below. I was informed that they intended to build on the terrace of the large mound; this will produce a fine effect; it will be seen five or six miles across the plain, and from some points of view ten or twelve."

In "The Valley of the Mississippi", by J. G. Wild (1841), page 50, is the statement

"To the west [of the chief mound] some two hundred yards, on a small mound, was formerly the principal residence of a community of Monks of the order of La Trappe, from whom the place took the name of Monks Mound."

It is very evident from this that the Trappists had no buildings of any sort on the largest mound, but merely contemplated erecting a residence there later. But the community did not thrive, and in a few years the place was abandoned. There is clearly a misprint in the statement that their "cabins were on a mound about fifty yards high", as the mound is only about fifteen feet; "five yards" was probably intended.

So, in justice, the name "Monks' " should be dropped, and that of Cahokia restored. Thus will it aid the creek in perpetuating the name of the Cahokia Indians who formerly had their principal towns on these fertile plains. They, however, had nothing to do with the erection of the structures.

Not only is Cahokia the largest known mound, but it is surrounded by others of great size, the combined contents of them all far exceeding the volume of any other group in the country within the same area. No one has ever had the courage to undertake a calculation as to the amount of earth in the entire group; the largest is estimated by McAdams, in his "Antiquities of Cahokia", to contain 21,690,000 cubic feet. This, of course, is only approximate; it may vary as much as five or even ten per cent either way, for not only is it very difficult to compute such an irregular mass, but we have no means of knowing just how much it may have been altered in form by atmospheric erosion since it was completed, and so there is room for considerable error in calculating the exact area of the base, as well as the amount of earth which has spread out over the plain around it. Taking this figure as correct, however, we may form a rough estimate of the length of time required in its construction.

Excavations in hundreds of mounds prove beyond doubt that the earth composing them was carried in skins, sacks, or baskets, by ordinary labor. In large mounds the outline of each load, as dumped by the carrier, is very distinct. The average size of a load was not far from half a cubic foot. The weight of earth varies from seventy-five pounds for perfectly dry loam to one hundred pounds for tolerably moist earth closely packed. Thus, half a cubic foot would weigh from forty to fifty pounds, a moderate weight for an ordinary laborer to carry. Calculations have been made as to the amount that will be transported in a day by a person working under ordinary conditions, in various parts of the world. We do not have to go far afield to learn about our own Indians. When de Bourgmont started in 1724 from Fort Orleans on his expedition to the "Canzas and Padoucas" he engaged a large number of Missouris to assist in moving

his goods. "The women carried loads which astonished the Frenchmen, who had not yet seen this nation. Everyone carried as much as one dog dragged. Girls of ten to twelve years of age carried more than one hundred pounds. But it is true with such burdens they do not make more than two or three leagues a day". So we see that fifty pounds for a grown Indian is not an excessive load, even when it has to be carried up the side of a mound. Accepting McAdams's figures as exact, we find that Cahokia required the deposit of 43,380,000 loads. From what we know of Indian character, it is fairly certain that the labor was voluntary; that is, when a man, or woman, got tired or heated a rest would be in order. At first, the earth could be dug close at hand, and need not be carried to any considerable elevation; but as the structure grew, earth must not only be procured farther away, but taken to a much greater height. Here we must assume a figure, because there is no method of ascertaining how many loads would be moved in a day under these circumstances. Let us call the average twenty, which is probably not out of the way.

From what we know of southern Indians who built mounds like this, though none so large, it is quite safe to assert that no village or town of more than 4,000 persons ever existed in the Bottom under aboriginal conditions. There were probably more people within a radius of a few miles; they would be compelled to scatter out in order to find subsistence. Half the inhabitants of such a settlement would be unfitted by youth, age, or infirmities, for a task of this nature; half the remainder would be needed to provide food. Thus, at the outside limit, not more than 1,000 would be available for the building. From rain, heat, cold, or disinclination to work, it is a reasonable estimate that these 1,000 persons would not put in more than 150 full days of work in a year; in which

time 3,000,000 loads would be carried. To pile up the entire amount would therefore require practically fifteen years. Furthermore, in order that it should be completed within this period, we must allow for Indians a persistency in continuous exertion at anything that is really like *work,* and a capacity for sustained effort, superior to any we know of or can infer from old chronicles. It is understood, of course, that reference is made only to Indians of the eastern and central United States. Those of Mexico and farther southward were apparently different in disposition.[1]

Moreover, there is another fact, which seems to have been overlooked. The depth at which objects are found proves that much accumulation of soil has occurred around the mound. May its base not be considerably below the present surface of the earth? If so, there is, at the bottom, a large amount of material of which no account is taken in these calculations, and therefore the time must be extended.

There is still another feature which may indicate a more prolonged period of building. It has been generally assumed that the work was continuous from start to finish, and this is admitted in the above figures. It is further assumed that the "chiefs" or "great men" lived on top of the mound and the lesser lights on the terraces below. But the old Spanish and French records that mention such mounds in the south, do not justify any such supposition. They tell us that the "great Chief" lived on the largest mound, and the minor chiefs on smaller mounds around or near this. It may be that each terrace represents a stage at which work on the structure ceased for an

[1]The writer is quite prepared—and resigned—to anticipate that this statement will be turned against him, to prove the Mound Builders identical with the Aztecs. But in spite of coincidences, and vigorous assertions, nothing has yet been discovered to prove more than a trading connection between the two peoples.

indefinite time. Afterward, when from any cause it was decided to carry it higher, the additional labor involved in carrying earth to such a height or distance, or the necessities of the occasion being not so great, it was, perhaps, thought preferable to resume operations on a reduced scale; to place a smaller mound on top of the larger, rather than to begin afresh on the surface and carry a new mound to the desired elevation. In such event, each successive diminution in area might represent a suspension of operations extending ever many years.

The other mounds in the American Bottom excel Cahokia in their combined mass; so we must at least double the amount of labor involved, as figured above.

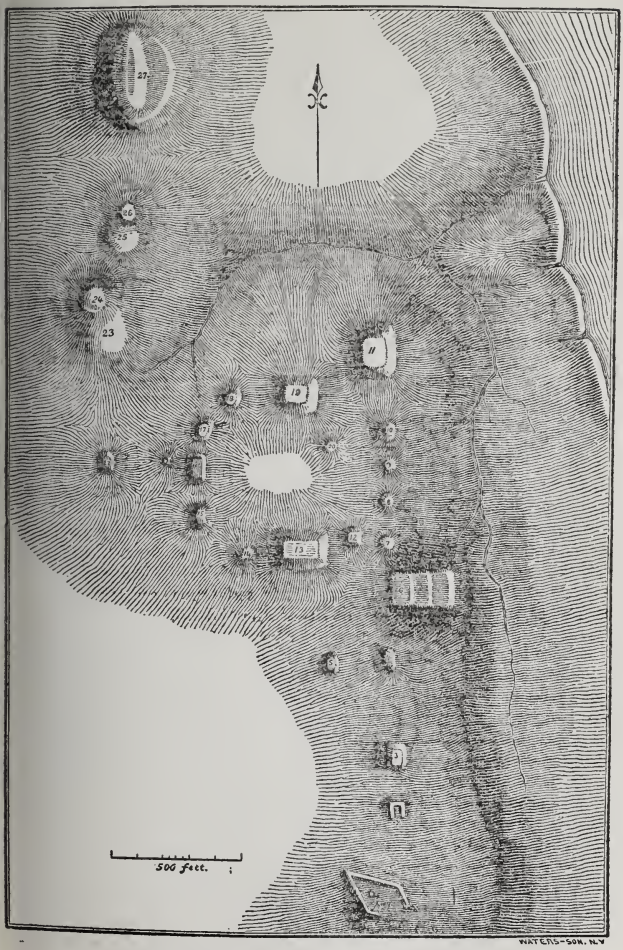
Clearly, then, a large population once occupied this site; and the period of occupancy no doubt reached over several centuries. It is not probable that more than one of these great piles would be under construction at the same time; nor that the work upon any of them would be hurried; nor even that it would be continuous, for explorations in mounds much smaller have shown that the construction was often interrupted, sometimes for months or years—long enough for bushes or even small trees to grow up. Moreover, fragments of pottery and other evidences of human industry have been unearthed in the fields around at a depth of nine feet, in such position and situation as to prove they lay on the natural surface at the time they were abandoned or thrown aside. This is the greatest depth to which excavations have been carried; perhaps future work will uncover remains still lower down. The accumulation above them is the result of flood deposits; and as relics entirely similar are found all the way up to or near the present surface, many centuries must have elapsed between the earliest and the latest dates at which this region was the scene of aboriginal activities.

Structures of the same class, though not so impressive, once existed on a portion of the ground now covered by Saint Louis. It is much to be regretted that all the latter have disappeared in the progress of improvement. The largest, at least, might well have been preserved as a monument to those who preceded us, and have served as the nucleus of a public park, of which we are now beginning to feel the need. But in its destruction we have only exercised the remarkable American faculty of proceeding upon the principle of "What's the difference; there's plenty more where that came from". Afterward, we mournfully shake our heads and lament in a perfunctory sort of way that "It is now too late".

Fortunately, Major Long made a survey of the Saint Louis group before it was defaced; a map from his drawing appears in the Smithsonian Report for 1861. These mounds were terraced and flat-topped, like those on the Illinois side of the river.

It may also be stated here that nearly all so-called "restorations" of mounds, whether in drawings or models, are incorrect and misleading. They are invariably represented too steep. In the first place, earth will not lie at the angle which is given to the slopes; in the next place, if it could so lie, it would be impossible for a man to ascend it even without anything to hamper him, not to speak of being burdened with a heavy load of earth.

The purpose of so many flat-topped mounds is still problematical. Those in question are usually supposed to have been intended as places of refuge from floods; but the same form existed on the west side of the river far above the highest water ever known. They must have been for permanent use. Two other mounds of this form are found in the vicinity of these groups; one on the bluff towards Collinsville, and one at the supposed site of the old Omaha settlement near



THE LONG MAP OF THE ST. LOUIS MOUNDS.

Number 27, is what was known as the Big Mound, and was relatively much farther north than here shown. It was 1463 feet north from Number 26.

Spanish Lake. But both these are small, not over three or four feet high, and are not of the same class or character as the mounds on the low land.

The most plausible supposition in regard to the origin of the Cahokia group seems to be that it was the work of a colony or offshoot from some Southern tribe, possibly the Choctaw or Natchez. Large structures of this form are common in the southern States; and some small ones are found far up the Ohio river. But only those at Saint Louis and at Evansville, Indiana, are at all comparable to the great truncated mounds found throughout the Gulf States from eastern Tennessee to Arkansas. While some of the latter are definitely known to have been erected within the past four hundred years, it is almost equally certain that the builders of Cahokia had taken their final departure some time prior to the end of the fifteenth century. Whoever these people were, they were essentially dependent upon agriculture for sustenance; though undoubtedly waters and forest contributed in no small measure to their commissary. The character of the structures no less than that of the implements and pottery which they left, proves them to have been not only a different people, but a different kind of people, from the nomads found by the whites in the great central valley—different, that is, as to habits and customs. There is no relation whatever between their mounds and the smaller mounds distributed through the State of Missouri, mainly along the bluffs of rivers and over the interior highlands. It is probable they did not even belong to the same stock, though all were branches of the same American Indian race. With this knowledge we must for the present be content; though there will not be wanting those who will dispute even this vague claim.

A few facts, however, are beyond dispute. We know from the mound groups that for a long period

there was a populous settlement of aborigines around Saint Louis. We also know that the Siouan tribes passed slowly through or over this region. But there is nothing in the migration legends of the latter to indicate that they found the former in possession, or took any notice of the remains they left. Nor have we any trace of an intervening tribe or settlement. It can also be stated with some degree of certainty that all these events preceded the coming of white men to the western continent.

At the same time, there are indications of a geological nature that the time of abandonment is not to set back into the "remote and immeasurable past" where some would put it. No fact is better known than the tendency of the Mississippi river to wind and twist about in the alluvial bottom lands, taking its course now to one bluff, now to the opposite. So with the Missouri. Owing to a change of this nature in the latter stream, the mouth of Grand river is now several miles from where it was a generation ago. The old town of Kaskaskia below Saint Louis was practically destroyed in 1884; and Saint Mary's, which until that year was an important steamboat landing, is now six miles from the main channel. Such changes have been taking place ever since the cessation of glacial floods. While there is no certain method of ascertaining the exact, or even the relative, time of these modifications in the past, it is safe to say that when one of these cut-offs is filled with silt nearly to the general level of the surrounding fields, and another contains a considerable depth of water throughout the year, the former is much the older; and the comparative recentness of the latter may be roughly estimated by the area and depth of water it contains.

The position of Horse-shoe lake above, and Pittsburg lake below East Saint Louis clearly indicates that at one time the main channel of the Mississippi

was along the foot of the Illinois bluffs; and the depression where its old bed is not yet entirely leveled by silts, interrupted here and there for miles by swamps, pools, and small lakes, would seem to point to a more recent age than the ground which is now closer to the river. In other words, there was a time when all the ground upon which East Saint Louis, and perhaps some of its sister towns, now stand, was joined to the Missouri shore. The gradual encroachment of the stream on each side of the isthmus of this peninsula, exactly as we may see it occurring today at many places along both the great rivers, finally cut through and straightened the channel to its present situation. When this happened, can not be even guessed; but it has been several centuries, because it would require some time for the old channel to fill up to the extent it has. And yet, the depth of water in the lakes mentioned prove that this change was much more recent than some others whose effects are still easily to the traced.[2]

[2]In Winsor's volume entitled "The Mississippi Basin," printed since this article was written, there is given on page 120 a reproduction of a portion of an old map to which no date is attached, but which was made after Kaskaskia and St. Mary's were settled. On this map St. Louis is not marked but "Kaokia" is; though whether this refers to the French or to the Indian town does not appear. A wide bayou is shown, extending directly eastward from the river to the point where Cahokia creek comes out of the bluffs. Then it turns southward and southwestward and after a course of several miles terminates near the river bank opposite a large island. Apparently the lower end had been filled by sediment from the river. In the same volume, on page 460, is reproduced a map by Thomas Hutchins in which this bayou is represented as being open from end to end. Cahokia is marked as an Indian village. The shape of the bayou is just such as that of others which now exist by the score at different points along the river, but it is very much narrower than the main stream. These maps prove very clearly that the ground all around East St. Louis has been much built up since white men first saw it; consequently it is easy to believe that several centuries earlier the entire river may have followed this course. Many such changes have taken place along the Mississippi within the last hundred years.

The mounds on the bluffs east of the Bottom are not of the same character or appearance of those in the Cahokia group; the little work that has been done in them has yielded remains which are not of the same nature as those found around the latter. They seem to be of the same type as those which are so numerous along the bluffs of the Illinois river; their position relative to the topography is the same, and all are different in this respect from the rectangular and flat-topped type found along Cahokia creek, and from those which formerly stood on the site of Saint Louis; the two latter groups agreeing in their main characteristics.

An interpretation of these facts would seem to be that the builders of the Cahokia and Saint Louis mounds came here from the south at a time when the land between Horse-shoe lake and Pittsburg lake was an extensive peninsula, joined to the Missouri shore. The river, cutting in on the north and the south of this great ox-bow curve, at last broke through and the people to the eastward, supposing them to have remained in their habitat until this occurred, were shut off from their neighbors on the west. If this change took place very gradually, probably the mere inconvenience of being thus isolated between a rapid stream on one side and a slough on the other, led them to remove from their homes; and not having sufficient room to establish new quarters where all could be together in this vicinity, they went elsewhere. On the other hand, if this change of channel was sudden, especially if it resulted in great damage or loss of life, their superstitious fears would lead them to forsake the entire region, presumably fleeing toward the south as it was easier to go in that direction than in any other. Analogous migrations from such causes have occurred many times within the historical period, in various parts of the world.

The Siouan tribes must have reached this region prior to the time of Columbus; the Mound Builders had gone before the former came. The size and number of their monuments shows they long lived on the spot, for the amount of tillable earth included within the peninsula which once was here, could not have supported a population sufficiently numerous to erect such piles of earth, in the Indian fashion, unless they resided for many generations on the same ground.

It must be understood, of course, that this is advanced only as a hypothesis, not as an explanation of anything. The Mound Builders may not have awaited any such alteration of the channel, and the peninsula in question may have continued to a subsequent date, and be the one referred to in the Siouan migration legend recorded by Dorsey, to which we will next turn our attention.

It will be observed in this legend that a "high mountain" stood on this "peninsula". The term is not applicable to any elevation in this region. May it not be that instead of "high mountain", the statement was originally "high mound", referring to the large structure of the group? If this interpretation be correct, then the Mound Builders were gone before the Sioux came; otherwise there would certainly have been some mention of them even if nothing more than to say they were encountered.

Missouri Indians of Siouan Origin.

Linguistic researches by various early students, and more recently by the Bureau of American Ethnology resulted in the unexpected discovery that the Siouan Indians—meaning not merely the Sioux tribe of the present day, but all who spoke dialects of their language—were formerly domiciled along the Atlantic Coast. Various tribes of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and at several points along the Gulf

Coast, who lived in those localities until driven away by the whites, were of this stock. They did not represent eastward migrations from the western plains; their more archaic forms of speech proved them the parent, or at least older, tribes. Whether there may once, in the remote past, have been a migration to the east which included all the Siouan stock, and this westward migration, of which they preserve an account in their legends, was the recoil of the wave, we can not tell. If the pristine settlement of America was along the Northwest Coast, as seems most probable, then it is likely that the ancestors of Siouan tribes in the east may have traversed the entire continent and overrun the country where their scattered remnants were found by the English. Be this as it may, the greater part of them, at some far-distant day, made their way to the westward, over the Alleghanies, and down the New and Kanawha rivers. They seem to have lingered long on the Ohio and Wabash, but all the time were slowly drifting in obedience to the migratory instinct.

Some excerpts from several writers will serve to enlighten the reader as to the movements involved. Not all investigators are cited; nor do the quotations given embody all the conclusions or statements of those from whom the references are taken. But it is not necessary to our purpose to enter more fully into details. Neither is any attempt made to arrange citations in chronological order, as some of later date refer to earlier events.

In the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, McGee says:—

(p. 191:—". . . the ancestors of the Omaha, Ponka, Kwapa, Osage, and Kansa, were originally one people dwelling on Ohio and Wabash rivers, but gradually working westward. The first separation took place at the mouth of the Ohio, when those who

went down the Mississippi became the Kwapa or Down-stream people, while those who ascended the great river became the Omaha or Up-stream people. This separation . . . preceded De Soto's discovery of the Mississippi.

"The Omaha group (from whom the Osage, Kansa, and Ponka were not yet separated) ascended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri, where they remained for some time . . . , then moved gradually up the latter stream."

(p. 192):—"When the Cehiga divided at the mouth of the Ohio, the ancestors of the Osage and Kansa accompanied the main Omaha body up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Osage river. There the Osage separated from the group, ascending the river which bears their name."

(p. 193):—"The Kansa remained with the Up-stream people in their gradual ascent of the Missouri to the mouth of the Kaw or Kansas, when they diverged westward; but they soon came in contact with inimical peoples, and, like the Osage, were driven southward. The date of this divergence is not fixed, but it must have been after 1723."

(p. 194):—"The Missouri were first seen by Tonty about 1670; they were located near the Mississippi on Marquette's map (1673) under the name of Ouemissourit, probably a corruption of their name by the Illinois tribe, with the characteristic Algonquian prefix. The name Missouri was first used by Joutel in 1687. In 1723 Bourgmont located their principal village 30 leagues below Kaw river and 60 leagues below the chief settlement of the Kansa; according to Croghan, they were located on the Mississippi river opposite the Illinois river in 1759. Although the early locations are somewhat indefinite, it seems certain that the tribe formerly dwelt on the Mississippi about the mouth of the Missouri, and that they gradually ascended the latter stream, remaining for a time between the Grand and Chariton rivers and establishing a town on the left bank of the Missouri near the mouth of the Grand. There they were found by French traders, who built a fort on an island quite near their village about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Soon afterward they were conquered

and dispersed by a combination of Sac, Fox, and other Indians; they also suffered from smallpox. On the division, five or six lodges joined the Osage, two or three took refuge with the Kansa, and most of the remainder amalgamated with the Oto."

The fort mentioned is Fort Orleans. Perhaps no one spot in Missouri has aroused more discussion, as to its exact locality. Some writers place it below the mouth of the Grand; others above. Some have it on an island, some on the main land. There is even difference as to which side of the river it was on. One reason for all this confusion is that the site was long ago washed away. Stipes, who carefully studied all the authorities, and was moreover quite familiar with the entire region thereabouts, concludes

"(1) that the Missouri Indians were located about the present site of Malta Bend as early as 1719, and (2) that Fort Orleans, established by Captain Etienne Venyard de Bourgmont, probably in 1723, stood on the opposite bank of the Missouri river from the Missouri village and at no great distance therefrom."

Probably all the trouble arises from the fact that copiers of old documents failed to distinguish between two villages of the Missouris, one on the north side of the Missouri river, near Grand river, the other on the south side, on the Petite Osage ("Teetsaw") Plains. The Indians moved from the former to the latter within the time during which all this history was being made.

To resume from McGee:—

(p. 195):—"In 1687 the Oto were on Osage river. La Hontan found them on the Osage in 1690."

(p. 196):—"The Mandan had a vague tradition of emigration from the eastern part of the country, and Lewis and Clark, Prince Maximilian, and others found traces of Mandan house-structures at various points along the Missouri; thus they appear to have ascended that stream before the advent of the Cehiga."

As to the last statement, it is true that the Mandans had traditions of ascending the Missouri in advance of other Siouan tribes; but the remains noted were only ordinary mounds, and were attributed to the Mandans by these travelers only because they did not know other Indians also built mounds within this territory. This is not to say the Mandans did not build mounds along the Missouri; merely, that some other tribes as well were addicted to the habit.

In the Third Annual Report of the Bureau, 1881-2, "Omaha Sociology", Dorsey says, on page 211:—

"When the ancestors of the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, and several other cognate tribes traveled down the Ohio to its mouth, they separated on reaching the Mississippi. Some went up the river, . . . The rest went down the river. . . . The tribes that went up the Mississippi were the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, and Kansas. Some of the Omahas remember a tradition that their ancestors once dwelt at the place where Saint Louis now stands; and the Osages and Kansas say they were all one people, inhabiting an extensive peninsula on the Missouri river."

It is also said that "On this peninsula was a high mountain". Dorsey supposes the locality to be in Saint Louis county. Several mounds are situated on top of the bluffs a short distance above the mouth of the Missouri, overlooking the Columbia Bottoms; one of them is low and flat-topped, like the council or assembly mounds rather common among various Indian tribes in modern times.

"Subsequently, these tribes ranged through a territory, including Osage, Gasconade, and other adjacent counties of the State of Missouri, perhaps most of the country lying between the Mississippi and the Osage rivers. The Iowas were near them; but the Omahas say that the Otos and Missouris were not known to them. The Iowa chiefs, however, have a tradition that the Otos were their kindred, and that both tribes,

as well as the Omahas and Poncas, were originally Winnebagoes. A recent study of the dialects of the Osages, Kansas, and Kwapas discloses remarkable similarities which strengthen the supposition that the Iowas and Otos, as well as the Missouris, were of one stock.

"At the mouth of the Osage river the final separation occurred. The Omahas and Ponkas crossed the Missouri, and, accompanied by the Iowas, proceeded [north]. . . . (note) . . . the Omahas and Ponkas never accompanied the Kansas and Osages beyond the mouth of the Osage river."

In the Society's collection is a photograph of Marquette's original map, made to accompany the report of his voyages in 1673 and later. On this, the Osages, Missouris, and Kansas, are marked in about the same localities where they are noted by later explorers, that is, at the mouth of the Osage, the Grand, and the Kaw.

Bradbury's Travels in the Interior of America (Thwaites's edition, 1904), has this note on page 56:—

"The Missouri Indians, from whom this river takes its name, were a prominent tribe of Siouan stock, who appear to have lived originally at the mouth of the river; but about the beginning of the eighteenth century they had moved up to this place [that is, near the mouth of Grand river, on the left bank of the Missouri], where their principal village was found by early French explorers. The Spaniards, alarmed by the alliance of these Indians with the French, sent an expedition against them, which was, however, betrayed into the hands of the savages and cut off to a man."

It is a singular fact that nearly every writer who has to record that an Indian gets the best of a fight or a bargain, is apparently compelled to attribute the victory to "treachery" or "betrayal." In this case, the Spanish commander came to the village of the

Missouris and went into camp nearby. Not knowing who they were, but seemingly taking it for granted they must be friendly to "our side", he set forth fully his intention of driving the French out of the country and bringing the Missouris under the sway of the Spanish, by force if necessary. Had the Indians been imbued with the proper story-book spirit, they would have sat around until daylight, waiting for the Spaniards to knock them in the head. Being treacherous savages, however, they preferred to "do unto others what others would do unto you, and do it first."[3]

Quoting Bradbury again:—

(p. 74, note,):—"The Oto Indians were once a powerful nation, an offshoot of the Missouri family. Their former village once stood upon the Missouri river not far from the city of Omaha. [Later] they retreated to the south side of the Platte river, about thirty miles above its mouth."

(p. 80):—"the Missouris are incorporated with [the Otoes]; they are their descendants and speak the same language. . . . A very considerable part of the surrounding country formerly belonged to the Missouris, who were once the most powerful nation on the Missouri river, but have been reduced by war and smallpox."

From French's Historical Collections of Louisiana (Appleton, 1851):—

(p. 62, note):—"The Missouris, . . . originally occupied the country at the junction of that river with the Mississippi. They were driven away by the Illinois in 1824, and have since joined the Otoes."

Royce, in the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, "Indian Land Cessions", Plate

[3]Bandelier (Rept. of Hemenway Expedition) says this fight occurred on either the South Platte near Platte City, or on the main Platte near Omaha; and that the Pawnees and not the Missouris were the Indians involved.

CXLIV, shows the "Little Osage Village in 1805", on the south side of the Missouri, in Saline county, between Grand Pass and Malta Bend. The "Missouri Village in 1805", was located in the southwest corner of Chariton county, near the mouth of Grand river.

On a map dated 1763, which accompanies Charlevoix's Letters, of 1720, the village of the Missouris is shown as above Fort Orleans, and about the position of the Osage village as given by Royce.

From Elliott Coues' edition of Pike's Expedition in 1805-7, Harper, 1895, volume II:—

(p. 525-9):—"The Osage appear to have emigrated from the north and west; from their speaking the same language as the Kans, Otos, Missouries, and Mahaws, together with their great similarity of manners, morals, and customs, there is left no room to doubt that they were originally the same nation. . . . The Mahaws, Missouries, and Otos remained on the banks of the Missouri river . . . in reach of the Sioux who . . . have reduced the Mahaws . . . to a mere cipher, and obliged the Otos and Missouries to join their forces, so that these now form but one nation. The Kanses and Osages came further to the east." "The Little Osage separated from the Big Osage about 100 years since, when their chiefs, on obtaining permission to lead forth a colony from the great council of the nation, moved on to the Missouri; but after some years, finding themselves too hard pressed by their enemies, they again obtained permission to return."

In Thwaites's "Early Western Travels", volume XIV, S. H. Long's Expedition, 1819-20, page 229, it is recorded that Lewis and Clark held a council with the Otoes and Missouries at Council Bluffs in 1804. It is from this event that the place takes its name.

After the Revolutionary war, many vagrants and wanderers from various tribes both east and west, roamed over Missouri, until the increasing numbers of whites compelled them to move toward the

west. This condition is indicated in the annexed quotations:—

Thwaites, "Early Western Travels", volume XVII:—

(p. 41):—"A miserable remnant of the Shawnee, Delaware, and Peola [Peoria] tribes, with a few Chickasaws and Cherokees, were at this time [1820] scattered through the country, from the Mississippi at the mouth of Apple creek westward to the sources of the Black river."

Report of Jedidiah Morse to the Secretary of War, on Indian Affairs, 1822:—

"A part of this tribe [Shawnees], not many years since, migrated from their ancient residence on the east of the Mississippi, and planted themselves on a branch of the Merrimack river . . . about thirty miles northwest of the lead mines."

A great deal more, in detail, could be given in regard to the tribes mentioned, as well as to others which have at one time or another lived in Missouri. Such a task would require a considerable amount of research, extending over weeks or even months.

Mound Builders.

It is altogether probable that, omitting Cahokia and its cognate group at Saint Louis, all the mounds of central Missouri, especially along the bluffs of streams, are due to some of the divisions of the Siouan nation; and that the stone cists pertain to the Shawnees and perhaps to a small extent to the Delawares. The flint quarries and hematite mines may have been, probably were, worked by all Indians who ever had occasion to use the materials.

Field Work.

No mention is made herein of results of field work carried on during the summers of 1906 and 1907, along

the Missouri river. This has been published as a Bulletin by the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington),[4] and the complete report is thus accessible to all who are interested in such matters.

It may be stated, however, that in more than sixty mounds examined between the Gasconade and the Kaw, there was such similarity in their structure and contents as to indicate that all were due to the same people, and to a continuous and well-defined period of time; though there is nothing to judge from as to when or how long a time.

More Than One Stage of Culture.

A preliminary exploration of an old village-site at the "Pinnacles" in Saline county, at or very near the point where all authorities place the Missouris, disclosed the interesting fact that the relics found here are not at all like those found in the mounds along the Missouri. Whether this is because the remains belong to some unknown tribe, or to a settlement on the spot, earlier or later, of a historic or allied tribe, we can not as yet venture a guess. It is only one more problem requiring careful investigation and much study before a satisfactory conclusion can be reached. There are numerous places of which this is true.

[4]Antiquities of Central and Southeastern Missouri, by Gerard Fowke, Bulletin 37, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1910.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR.

By Charles A. Krone.

(Read at a meeting of the Society, 17 March, 1906.)

Continued from Volume III.

ACT THREE, SCENE TWO.

The next day I arrived at Louisville and the same ceremony with the passes took place. On the ferry landing a large mast had been erected from which a Union flag was floating in the breeze and as I looked upon that flag and recalled the occurrences at the Provost Marshal's office all seemed to me a dream. The next morning my first trip was to the theatre and before the day had ended I was re-engaged. A French pantomime actress Mlle. Zavistowski said to be a great favorite at the theater Porte St. Martin in Paris was playing "The French Spy", in which she has a fierce and very difficult short sword combat with a desert Arab. The man who played the Arab was deficient in sword practice and so I was engaged to fill his place. Handbills were got out immediately in which I was announced to appear the next night. The house was filled and on my entrance I was greeted with cheers and several rounds of applause. The part was rendered to the French lady's satisfaction and she said I played it "like French actor" and invited me to her dressing room where she treated me to beer and cigars.

Although the city was cast into fear and dismay on several occasions by false rumors of attacks, negro uprisings, etc., it was without any serious concern on my part, for I was in my element again with plenty to do and a fair salary. Hosts of soldiers were marching

in and out continually and the business was excellent. The correspondents and officers who made their headquarters here at various times were first class patrons of the drama and friendly to actors which enabled me to come in contact with some of the celebrities of that period such as Gen, Rousseau, Gen. Buell, Gen. Palmer, besides numerous captains and colonels. This season, in spite of the many inconveniences resulting from a state of war promised to be both amusing and instructive. My leisure time was spent in visiting the many good friends I had made and in moonlight walks with my intended on the magnolia and linden tree bordered thoroughfares of the town; and so for me, the sky seemed to be filled with fiddles and banjos.

The season progressed with the usual run of stars but the company had grown inferior on account of the numerous theatres that had been opened in the various camps where many ambitious youths were starring as Othello and MacBeth who lately had been satisfied with John to say: "The carriage waits." Eastern actors generally were afraid to venture anywhere near the seat of war on account of the unsettled condition. John Nefie, the tragedian came and appeared as Brutus in Julius Ceasar. I was cast for Cassius and labored through the long part smoothly and without hesitation which is all I can say for it on that score, but as I only weighed 145 pounds and was 5 ft. 10 in. in height I filled the bill for the lean and hungry Cassius if nothing more.

Burlesques upon the war were also not wanting. An army of pilgrims in which no two men were permitted to wear the same style of uniform had a camp on the outskirts of the town to which they would march in the evening with feather beds strapped on their backs and bottles of whiskey protruding out of every coat pocket; hams slung to their sides instead of swords, wooden guns six feet long on their shoul-

ders, and faces savagely bearded and grotesquely masked. On an afternoon a grand parade was announced on the courthouse square, and among the many comicalities there was a wooden cannon thirty feet long bestrided by some half dozen fierce whiskered gunners, and a savage looking army surgeon with a meat saw at his saddle and a very long stomach pump girded on his side for a sword was prancing along on a mule. After the victory at Belmont, however, these fooleries gradually ceased and when the danger approached as near as Fort Donelson in the Spring, there was no more joking about the war. Besides, several anticipated attacks upon the city by General Buckner, who at one time was within forty miles of the town, raised some excitement for awhile, but the late victories had restored confidence, greenbacks had begun to circulate, and the two theatres were nightly filled with soldiers and strangers from every part of the land. Many actors had enlisted in the army and navy. One night while a regiment passed the theatre on its way south a bearded soldier fully equipped and bespattered with mud came to the stage door and shouted my name. I came but could not recognize him upon which he said: "It is I, not Hamlet, but Bill Sheridan, the soldier. I heard you were here so I left the ranks to shake hands with you." Then pressing my hand he said: "I haven't a moment to spare Charley but I hope we will meet again in peace to play together once more. God bless you." And he hurriedly left. This was Wm. Sheridan who after the war starred in Shaksperian roles with considerable success.

It was during this season that the peace convention at Frankfort framed what was known as the Crittenden Compromise, and our company was sent there to perform while the convention lasted. I was present at one of their sessions during a hot debate. The

weather was unusually warm and most of the members sat in their shirt sleeves. Tom Marshall, a famous lawyer of that period, who still had his coat on, and wishing to cool off, at the moment of a very loud and excited harangue between two members, suddenly arose and quickly jerked off his coat and laid it on the back of his chair, and while everybody's attention was drawn towards him by this sudden movement, he drew a very large silvermounted meerschaum pipe from his coat pocket, upon which nearly every member made a desperate rush through the door into the street, whilst he stood looking after them in dumb astonishment and wonder. When the crowd heard that Marshall had not drawn a revolver but his meerschaum pipe to save it from injury, their merriment was as great as their terror had been and all returned to their seats.

Another episode occurred one night which almost terminated in a tragedy. Marshall was making a speech in the rotunda of the Capitol Hotel and amusing his hearers with ridiculous and sarcastic jokes about the German Unionists, and said that in the retreat at Bull Run the Dutch had left a streak of sour kraut behind them that reached from Richmond to Washington City. Upon this one of our musicians who had fought on the barricades in Germany in 1848 rushed towards him and drew his revolver to kill him, when the bystanders seized him and after a hard struggle got the weapon from his grasp.

The season closed during the first week of July after which the company played a few nights across the river in Jeffersonville and New Albany, Ind., and thus, having finished my third season in Louisville, I left for St. Louis.

On my arrival I found that the excitement and turmoil of war at home was similar to that of Louisville but it was managed with more order and dis-

cipline. The past theatre season had been unsuccessful; however, the future promised to be good, as orders for military equipments and the commissary departments were coming in rapidly.

One afternoon while walking up Olive street between 6th and 7th I heard a volley of musketry, and the next instant an Italian with ashy pale features distorted by terror came tottering towards me and fell at my feet crying, "Oh God, the Germans are killing the Americans!" I hurried towards 7th street where I found a battalion of Home Guards in line fronting the Recorders Court, which was then held in the second story of the present Engine house No. 6. The excited officers were rushing up and down the line with drawn swords throwing back the guns of the soldiers who were preparing to send a second volley into the building. The porch had been densely crowded with men at the first fire while viewing the troops who with their caps and arms decorated with oak leaves had just returned from service in the interior of the State. It was believed that while resting one of their guns had been accidentally discharged, upon which, suspicioning that another attack was to be made upon them like that of Camp Jackson and Walnut street, they fired, killing several men and wounding many. The soldiers gloomy and pale, with compressed lips and staring eyes glared upon the removal of the dead, until they were aroused by the command to march. This object lesson in civil war gave small hope for the success of the theatre in a city where camps and barracks were everywhere, and the drilling, departing and arrival of troops were going on night and day. However, as my being a soldier was out of question, I called on DeBar who was willing to engage me, but who complained bitterly about the hard times and his inability to pay decent salaries under present conditions. Notwithstanding, I engaged with him at a

salary of $12.00 per week with the condition that he would raise me as the business improved. He was very much opposed to the war and by his frequent repetition of the phrase "Might now, is Right, my boy", it was easy to see that his sympathies were with the South. Such also was the case with his company with the exception of one man, an old Scotchman. I was told that this man had been ridiculed by some of the young members of the company for wearing a large Union badge on the lapel of his coat. Upon which he reported whatever southern sentiments he had heard in the dressing rooms and around the theatre to the proper authorities, where upon the whole party including Ben DeBar were cited before the Provost Marshal, who, however, discharged them without giving them any further trouble.

Every male resident of the city who had attained the proper age and possessed the physical requirements was compelled to join the Home Guards, and consequently the actors were included in the number. By some means or other those of the two theaters, DeBar's and the Varieties, together with the performers of other inferior establishments, managed to have themselves placed in the same company, by which means they expected to be more readily excused from performing such duties as clashed with their business. I was exempted on account of a slight hurt received in early childhood, and which never in the least inconvenienced me. The company was ordered on a certain afternoon to report at headquarters in Wyman's Hall, opposite the court house. I stood at the corner of Market street as this novel company without uniforms, guns or music marched up the street. Each man shouldered a rattan cane; a red cotton handkerchief tied to a stick served as a banner, and in place of fife and drum they all whistled the "Rogue's March" until they halted before the headquarters. The lieutenant of

the company with a large red sash slung over his shoulder and wearing a sword, the only weapon in the company, rushed upstairs into the Provost Marshal's office, where he found a soldier writing at a table, where, as he subsequently told me, the following short and emphatic dialogue took place: "Well; and who are you?" the soldier gruffly asked. "Lieutenant Hawkins, sir, of Co. So and So, and I have come to report as ordered," the Lieutenant replied somewhat nettled by the gruff manner with which he had been received. After a long and painful pause the soldier enquired, "Where is the company?" "Below, sir," was the answer, upon which the soldier strode towards the window, opened it and looked out upon the company in the street and a large and laughing crowd that had assembled around them. Another long and painful pause ensued while the soldier earnestly viewed the scene below. The lieutenant was getting impatient and asked, "What am I to do with the men?" to which the soldier replied, "Tell them to go to hell and you go with them!" slammed down the window and returned to his writing. "All right," the lieutenant replied, and reported the order to the company, who again struck up the "Rogue's March," and returned to their quarters amid the cheers and applause of the by-standers.

After a short time the company received uniforms and arms, which completed the joke, for their existence could not have had any purpose but that of fulfilling the law. I never saw them doing anything but parade the streets as corporal's guards to arrest those that were unprovided with a pass, and frightening the timid *a la* Pistol and Bardolph with high sounding theatrical speeches and burlesque bayonet charges. In short, they would have furnished plots for the best of modern comic operas. Two of the actors had been cunning enough to evade the law and also their military col-

leagues. To capture these men all the actors' lodging and boarding-houses were searched and ransacked.

Failing to find their prey after inspecting trunks, beds, and the pantries, the guns were stacked in a corner of the room and the landlord sent for a pitcher of beer, upon which they sat around a table singing,

> "Then let me the cannikin clink, clink, clink!
> Then let me the cannikin clink! Life's but a span,
> A soldier's a man, then let a soldier drink."

And during all this time the object of their search was upon the roof hiding behind the chimney. This military business gave them the finest opportunities to play off their customary practical jokes, and be assured they made the most of it.

The season opened in September, and as far as I can remember, with the following company: Thomas Conner, leads; Chas. A. Krone, heavies; Geo. Mitchell, old men; Ben DeBar, Wm. Smith and John Barrett, comedians; Jas. Sherry, juveniles; Con Murphy, singing parts; Michael Slevin, old men; and W. Melmer, Biekle, Hamilton, Banks, etc., for general business. The ladies were as follows: Charlotte Wyett, leads; Emma Maddern, chambermaids; Ella Maddern and Mary Maddern, walking ladies; and Mrs. Mary Barrett, Fielding and others, general business. Leon Pomarede and John Hilliker painted the scenery when required, but were not steadily engaged; Walter Butts attended to the Properties and Mrs. Purcelle to the Wardrobe, and Chas. Keller was the call-boy, but was afterwards promoted to the position of prompter, which he held for many years. Notable in the company were Thomas Conner, the leading man, and Wm. Smith, the comedian, both excellent and popular actors; and Charlotte Wyett, an English actress of merit who had won the public by her intelligent and heart felt renditions, and Emma Maddern, who with her sprightly

manner, charming appearance and vocal powers was the favorite of the hour.

The discipline of the stage had begun to relax like most other things at that time, and actors without the sense of personal duty and honor did pretty much as they pleased and were the occasion of much trouble to managers. The temptation for drink was also enhanced by the contact with strangers, soldiers and all-night revelries that were going on in concert halls, beer caves with uniformed waiter girls in attendance, and the masquerades and can-can dances that were produced at the Varieties then reopened by Geo. Deagle. Besides, all the gambling houses were wide open, and much of the scum of the land of both sexes had come hither to reap their harvest. Plenty of money was pouring in fast in the shape of *shin plasters,* that is, paper money ranging upward from a five cent bill, represented by a two-inch square piece of paper, to a thousand dollar note, all of which, in time, had the moral effect of making one think this money no better than the rag it was represented by, and it was spent accordingly.

Thomas Conner had the misfortune to be what is termed a periodical drunkard, but being a good all around actor and very popular, the management could not do without him. There were others in the company that previously had never been known to overstep the bounds of sobriety, but who now were unable to withstand the temptations which were offered by the unrestrained sociability of the times.

Business improved from day to day as new troops and strangers arrived, and with them the rage for amusement increased at the same ratio. I felt myself secure, the future was full of hope and as I had saved a few hundred dollars, I determined to put into execution the plan I had cherished during the past two years, and so on the 12th of October, 1862, my intended, wh-

had arrived from Louisville, and myself were married by the Rev. Wall of St. Marcus Church. As no fitting domicile could be found for my reception, I had made arrangements for the present to board with a Mrs. Heineman, who kept a very fine place on the corner of Fourth and Elm, so on the night of my marriage, after spending some hours with my family, my wife and I proceeded on our wedding journey to the aforesaid boarding house. The moon was shining brightly, and a poor stray dog followed us all the way, fawning and springing around us in a joyful manner until we reached our lodging. My wife said that this was a good omen and indicative of good luck. I sincerely hoped so, and that my salary would be raised. Several old acquaintances were met in this house, among them Patrick Gleason, the treasurer of the theater, and it was here that for the first time I met Dr. P. S. O'Reilly, that well known and generous gentleman and sincere patron of the drama, who then was studying medicine.

The third day after my wedding, the leading man was indulging in one of his protracted sprees and failed to show up at the rehearsal of "Fazio," with Miss Jane Coombs as the star. DeBar asked me to study the long blank verse leading part for that night, which I knew would be an impossibility, and so I refused. He become very angry and said I must do it. I replied that I would not, and he left me in a great rage. These were the first and last angry words that passed between us during fifteen years of my stay with him. After awhile he came and told me that Mr. Sherry would do it, and with a triumphant air, added, "Egad, he *can* do it!" and I denied that he was able for the task. Night came and when he entered on the scene with the star he drew the book from his bosom and read the part, at which Miss Coombs began to cry like a child and complained to DeBar, whom I reminded of what I had told him that morning; upon which he

replied: "Egad, he's deceived me." He then asked me if I would play the "Stranger" the following night, and I consented. I walked the floor all night studying the long part, and played it the next, after which I walked the floor again until four o'clock in the morning studying Matthew Elmore, and the third night I received another dose in Sir Chas. Pomander to keep me awake until morning, and all this during the first week of my marriage, and I began to think it a very comical commencement of my Honey Moon.

The next week a combination of stars consisting of Jas. Wallack, Ed Davenport and Mrs. Farren was announced and there was a prospect of rest for me, since I had played everything in my line with these parties, and the leading man had turned up at last. For a day or two all was right, but when Julius Caesar was rehearsed, in which he was cast for Mark Anthony, he again failed to appear and I studied the part for that night. Before the curtain rose DeBar informed the audience what had happened, that I would go on for the part at short notice, and assured them that his leading man should never appear again in his theater, and he kept his word. I was called before the curtain after the funeral scene, and DeBar was in high glee that I had helped him, and on salary day I found an extra $10.00 bill enclosed in my envelope. I had made a record with him that was to ensure me a steady engagement as long as I desired.

Jas. Carden succeeded Conner as leading man. He was a steady, sober and efficient general actor who became very popular and remained with us the rest of the season. About this period the old time honored custom of charging only 50 cents admission to the dress circle was raised to 75 cents, orchestra seats $1.00, the second tier from 35 to 50 cents; the gallery remained at 25 cents, likewise the pit. The pit was an institution peculiar to DeBar's theater, and occupied that part

of the house which today is known as the parquette. As it was on the first floor and reached from the door to the orchestra seats, its cheap admission, and the facility with which one could hear and see, made it the favorite resort for the young people of the town, who during the intermission of the acts were allowed to amuse themselves by cracking jokes and eating peanuts. Saturday night was the gala night of these roysterers, on which occasion they often afforded the public as much amusement as the performers. As they were well acquainted with the plays they had seen so often, they were a terror to the actor who made a blunder, and especially to the beginner, for whom they had no mercy until he had shown his fitness for the vocation. He was made to understand that he was individually responsible for what he did, to exert the utmost care and diligence or be exposed to jeers and ridicule, and I think, this was a better means of education than all the so-called dramatic schools in the country. Any indecorum on the part of an actress who became too sprightly or made an unseemly gesture, was hailed with jeers and mock applause, if not with hisses. The men who affected a conceited and foppish air were treated in the same manner.

It was from the pit, also, that the noisy ovations were started when the generals and popular military men entered the theater and took seats in a box in the second tier. No matter what was going on on the stage, the cheers and applause at sight of these were such as made it impossible to proceed. Consequently a pause would be made by the actors, the orchestra strike up "Hail to the Chief who in triumph advances," whilst shouts would rend the air and handkerchiefs were waved from the circles. One night several high officers arrived, I do not remember the names, but I am pretty certain that Gen. Grant was of the party. After they were seated

and the customary noisy demonstrations had subsided, General Rosecrans slyly entered and evidently tried to sneak to his seat unobserved, so as to avoid public notice. However, some boy in the gallery had espied him and shouted to those below, "Rosy is here." A terrible racket again interrupted the scene on the stage, whilst shouts of "Rosy," "Rosy," "Face the music, Rosy," etc., came from the pit. The generals were enjoying the fun and with laughter drew him to the front of the box, where "Rosy" poked his benignant face from behind the curtain and with a broad grin nodded to the boys as if to say, "It's all right, lads," and amidst a loud roar of laughter speedily withdrew to his back seat.

This noisy and enthusiastic pit audience was separated by a low railing from the orchestra seats, which were occupied by a no less interested but a more sedate company, which consisted chiefly of professional or literary men, reporters, merchants, artists and men of leisure. On the first night of a new play, the actors were wont to peep through the curtain hole anxious to see who occupied the front seats, and if the well known faces of Britton Hill, Krum, Taylor, Finney, Ennis, Cheek, Franklin, McBride, Johnson, Meeker, and Garrett were present, the warning went around to "look sharp," as the critics were in front. If the play proceeded without any applause from that quarter it was considered a sure sign that something was wrong, whereas, the sharp rattle of their canes upon the floor assured us that things were getting on fairly.

The gallery as a rule was the resort of the boys. The country men also seemed to prefer this high and isolated position from where they could look down upon the entire audience and rest their feet cased in dirty boots upon the balustrade until the cry of "Boots," "Boots," from below and a punch from the bouncer's cane awoke them from their revery. The

dress and family circle as usual were occupied by the fashionable and well-to-do citizens with their families, who also enjoyed the extra exhibitions of fun. The theater of those days was patronized by all classes of the community from the lowest to the highest, and special caste theaters, as there are at present, were unknown to the American people, and where they had been attempted, as in the case of "Field's Varieties," they were certain of a dismal failure.

During the month of November, I left the boarding house and moved to the N. E. corner of Carondelet Ave., now Broadway, and Soulard street, where I had engaged two rooms with a kitchen and an attic, and I felt as if I had a home once more. No time was lost in surrounding myself with the best of books and a gun and fishing tackle to be used in the Illinois Bottoms, which still contained some game and was a comparative wilderness. For household pets a dog and a cat and a young crow and a racoon were obtained, and when my leisure permitted me I rowed across the Mississippi and hunted or fished. The greater part of the company were also fond of these sports, and during the fall, on Sundays or idle days, our party could be found on the banks of the Cahokia or Canteen creek to fish or hunt. Among these sportsmen our treasurer, Patrick Gleason, stood pre-eminent as the man who "killed" more fish than the rest. He never said "I caught a fish," but "killed" him, and every one he killed was duly weighed with a pair of small silver mounted scales he carried in his pocket and its weight registered in a book. He was a cheerful and kind hearted man and beloved by all who knew him, and he enjoyed the unlimited confidence of Ben DeBar for his probity and honesty, during many years of service. It was a matter of surprise to his friends that a man of such kindly disposition never got married until it was accidently discovered that from his small

salary he not only supported himself, but two maiden sisters he had left in Ireland. During the seventies he quit the theater to take the position of clerk in a hotel at Lake Montauk, where he expected to live at more ease and indulge his favorite passion of "killing fish." After a few years, however, he returned to St. Louis apparently to re-enter his former position of treasurer. I met him one day as he was coming out of the box-office of the theater, and upon my expressing pleasure of his return to his old post he replied, "Oh, Char-les, Char-les, I wouldn't take it again for all the money in the world: Tell me, what are things coming to here, anyhow?" When I asked him what was the matter, his reply was, "Oh, nothing: This is no place for me any more. I am going back to Minnesota." He returned to Lake Montauk, where he died a few years ago.

Another old citizen of note connected with DeBar's Theater was the artist Leon Pomarede, a Frenchman, who came to St. Louis in the early 40's and opened a studio and a shop on the N. W. corner of Olive and Second streets. I well remember the large sign over the door of the shop fronting on Second street and the wonder and admiration I felt when I gazed upon the brilliantly colored melons, oranges and various fruits that were painted on that sign and gracefully entwined about his name with the announcement, "Ornamental sign and fresco painter." His studio for higher work was a small room that fronted on Olive street, where I have often watched him through the door while he was painting a life sized picture of the Goddess of Liberty and from which my boyish mind received its first impression of the glory and spirituality of art. On my way to the German parish school I never failed to stop at Phillips Hall music store, where an oil painting by Pomarede representing Judith with the gory head of Holofernes in one hand and a bloody sword

LEON POMAREDE.

in the other was on exhibition in the large show window. A huge bible, the reading book of my school, which I carried in a strap, was thrown upon the ground when I reached the window, and I stood upon it to get a better view of the heroic Jewess with her pale and noble features and her flowing dark hair, which struck me with awe and admiration. The picture was finally removed, but of all the paintings I have seen since, none ever took my fancy like that Judith. Many years after, when arrived at full manhood, I saw that picture again in Pomarede's studio and he broke out into a boisterous laugh when I told him of my childish experience with his Judith, and he added: "Well, it won't affect you now. Your taste is improved since then." "Yes," I replied, or blurted, "It is hard to say whether or not my judgment was not better then than now." During the sixties Pomarede was in partnership with Henry Hillicker, the fresco and scenic painter, who is still alive but suffering from a spinal disorder which has confined him to an invalid chair for the past twenty years. I visit him occasionally and we have a good talk about the old time when he and his father and Leon Pomarede painted scenes for Ben DeBar's theater, and of the other painters, Laidlaw, Lesley, Tom Noxon and others, who worked in St. Louis, all of whom have gone to their last home.

A notable and popular feature of the surroundings of the theater at the period spoken of, was the tavern or saloon opposite, known as Farmer's saloon, which to the actors, reporters and *quidnuncs* of the town was what the Boar's Head Tavern was to that guild in Shakespeare's time, and in place of Capt. Pistol, Nym and Lieut. Bardolph, we had Chicken John, a philosophical Scotchman, a retired West Point Captain, and a worn-out New York critic and pamphleteer, all of whom had been and were still more devoted to Gin Cocktails than to their professions; good fellows who in spite of their

intelligence would have gone to the dogs in "piping times of peace," but in the present turmoil of war managed to live and make the welkin ring with their wit and eccentricities. Restaurant, billard room, bar, tables and chairs for guests, and even the kitchen and the fat cook, were all contained in one large room. Here the three above mentioned worthies would sit around a table and discuss politics, and after a few cocktails drift into poetry, when quotations and recitations were delivered to the laughing crowd that surrounded them, and who plied them with more drinks until calls for a song was made, upon which one of the party, with broken and husky voice, would sing: "When Twilight dews are falling"; his two partners meanwhile wiping the tears from their eyes, and the bystanders laughing and applauding. When the hour for closing had come at night and any of the guests had gone asleep at the tables, the landlord had three ways of awakening them. The first was to give them a hearty shake and a kind invitation to leave. If this proved unsuccessful, the edge of a steel spring was snapped on the outer edge of the ear, and if this failed a large dinner bell was rung over their head, and if they still persisted, the last resort, a long pewter squirt gun filled with stale beer was applied to the ear into which a heavy stream was injected, and this latter procedure never failed to have the desired effect.

(*Continuation to follow.*)

NOTES.

The French and Spanish Archives. The Municipal Assembly of St. Louis has passed an ordinance placing in the custody of the Missouri Historical Society the papers known as the French and Spanish Archives. They consist of deeds, marriage contracts, wills, inventories, commercial contracts, powers of attorney and miscellaneous documents, something over three thousand in number. They range in point of time from 1766 to 1804. The wills and marriage contracts furnish the means, taken in connection with the church registers, of tracing the genealogies of most of the early inhabitants of St. Louis. In the deeds the buildings upon the land conveyed are described with particularity, so making possible a correct picture of the ancient village. These documents have never been carefully studied. Nearly all of them have been translated and recorded in both original and translation, but the Recorder's Office has been unable to furnish facilities for their study, except so far as they relate to land ownership. It is the purpose of the Historical Society to have them indexed and made accessible to students as soon as is possible, and it is hoped that they will receive the attention which they merit.

The Early Church Registers. The work of transcribing and indexing the Church Registers of baptisms, marriages and funerals kept at St. Louis, Kaskaskia and Florissant, and what remains of those of Cahokia, before 1804, which has been under way for several years is approaching completion. It is expected that in a short time these transcripts, with full indexes, will be accessible to the public.

The Registers of Ste. Genevieve, St. Charles and Portage des Sioux are necessary to complete the record of early Missouri, and it is the intention to have these also transcribed and indexed as soon as the means at the disposal of the society will allow.

The Chicago Historical Society promises the publication of the Registers of Ste. Anne de Fort Charles, and the State of Alabama will publish this year those of Colonial Mobile, which will include many names identified with Missouri. The Registers kept at Mackinac have already been published by the Wisconsin Society. The work done and in progress will, no doubt, arouse such interest in these invaluable documents as will cause the publication of others from time to time until the whole work is completed. For any complete history of the settlement and early life of the people of the great commonwealths of the Mississippi Valley, these Registers are indispensable.

The Late Dr. WJ McGee: By the death of Dr. McGee, which occurred at Washington, 4 September, 1912, the Missouri Historical Society has lost a valued member.

Dr. McGee was born in Dubuque County, Iowa, 17 April, 1853. His early life was passed upon his father's farm with little opportunity for education, but his desire for learning was so great that with little aid from teachers he studied Latin, higher mathematics, astronomy and surveying. He also read law. He was engaged in land surveying and justice court practice from 1874 to 1876. From 1875 to 1877 he gave much time to the study of archaeology and geology, and in 1881, he made geologic and topographic surveys of Northeastern Iowa. This work is said to be the most extensive of its kind ever executed in America without public aid. Soon after this he became con-

nected with the U. S. Geological Survey, and from that time until his death he rendered to the public in the various governmental bureaus most valuable service. His writings for government and other scientific publications are much thought of by students.

During his residence in St. Louis he was active in the work of the Historical Society and delivered a number of interesting and valuable addresses at its meetings.

One who knew him well has characterized him as follows:

"Knowing Dr. McGee's reputation as an archaeologist, ethnologist and geologist, one expected to find him a rather dry scientist, remote in manner and lacking in the warm human qualities. But upon meeting him, one found instead, that he was broadly human, very genial in manner, and having the rare quality of giving everything he touched upon a vital interest. He would take up a casual remark made in conversation and develop it with an illuminative understanding which was most complimentary to the speaker. He made those with whom he was talking conscious of the fact that they interested him, and through his own interpretation of what one said gave a value to it. He applied his knowledge to life and to people with a rare comprehension of both. He was always kindly and sympathetic, helped thereto, no doubt, by his unusual experiences among both savage and civilized peoples, and he was equally at home with the unlearned as with his brother scientists. His learning was never oppressive. His philosophy was a happy one, insisting upon seeing the bright side of things both for himself and for others. The recollection of delightful evenings spent in his company is a treasured possession."

Dr. McGee's manner of writing his name attracted attention and comment. He explained it by saying that he was without a *praenomen* or Christian name; that

his parents delayed naming him, and that he came to be called WJ without those letters having any verbal significance.

The Society's First Venture in Bookmaking: The Missouri Historical Society has been enabled, by the generosity of a member whose thoughtful kindness is unfailing, to publish its first book—*A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in 1839,* written by Dr. F. A. Wislizenus, and first issued, in German, in St. Louis in 1840. The publication by the Society is a translation of the original book into English; the translation being the work of the author's son, Frederick A. Wislizenus, Esq., who also contributed a sketch of his father's life. The map which accompanied the original is reproduced, and a portrait of the author is added. The book throughout is a St. Louis product, and the mechanical execution is of a high class, not unworthy of the text. Should this volume be received with favor, it is the purpose to follow it with others, perhaps one or two each year. The Collections will be continued, and it is hoped that the Society will, before long, be able to issue them quarterly, as was the original intention.

The Death of Walter J. Blakely. Mr. Walter J. Blakely, the author of the sketch of MacGahan printed in this number of the Collections, died suddenly at his home in St. Louis, on 7 October, 1912, after his article was in type.

Mr. Blakely, like his friend MacGahan, was of Ohio birth. He came to St. Louis in 1863, at the age of twenty. He had studied at St. Vincents Benedictine College in Pennsylvania before coming to St. Louis, and here he continued his studies at St. Louis University. He was active in literary and dramatic circles, and was one of the founders of the McCullough

Dramatic Club, which was an institution worthy of remembrance. Mr. Blakely was also a member of the Papyrus Club, and he served as president of the St. Louis Gymnasium and of the Audubon Society. He was a genial, warm hearted man, with a quick and kindly wit, and ready and helpful sympathy. He left many friends who will long sincerely mourn his loss.

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CONTENTS.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF JUDGE WILSON PRIMM, *William Clark Breckenridge.*

EARLY HISTORY OF ST. LOUIS . . *Judge Wilson Primm.*

EZEKIEL WILLIAMS' ADVENTURES IN COLORADO.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR, VII., *Charles A. Krone.*

LETTER TO PRESIDENT JEFFERSON . . *René Jusseaume.*

NOTES: The New Home of the Society—The Exhibition of Jefferson Papers—Gifts—The Society's Need of Additional Members—The Jefferson Library.

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From an old photograph.

Wilson Primm

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JUDGE WILSON PRIMM.

By WILLIAM CLARK BRECKENRIDGE.

During her existence, St. Louis has been blessed with many representative citizens but with none more truly representative of his time than the subject of this sketch, Judge Wilson Primm.

He sprung from one of the most ancient families of this region and was of almost pure Creole descent. At the time of his birth the spoken language of the village was chiefly French and the manners and customs of the people were simple and hospitable and eminently joyous and sociable. To a certain degree, they were also enterprising, courageous and ambitious, as became Frenchmen located on the borders of civilization, exposed to all the hardships and dangers of a savage frontier life. In Wilson Primm these qualities seem to have been combined to a degree that made him an epitome or complete representative of that happy, primitive and hardy people. His nature was rich in those fine sensibilities that made him sympathetic with all that was sweet, tender, sentimental and pathetic. His smile, voice, sympathy, expression and manner could be and often were like the tenderest woman's, and then again, when occasion provoked it, all this would become converted into a dash, a passion, a courage, that were adequate for any emergency of resentment, redress or danger. His soul was full of music and eloquence and he excelled in the

divine art that alone, it is said, accompanies the spirit into the hereafter, as well as in the speech that delights and overpowers here. These traits and accomplishments made him society's favorite and a popular citizen.

His special gifts and capacities were cultivated and developed by the best means which this region, in the days of his youth, afforded. With an analytical mind, keen perceptions and a wonderful grasp of any subject, his writings were couched in the most forcible and elegant language, and written in a clear, scholarly hand without erasures or interlineations. He always regarded with pity any one who "stuttered in his writing."

His mother, his grandmother, and his greatgrandmother all lived in St. Louis and had seen its steady rise and progress from its Founding. The span of their lives covered stupendous changes in human affairs especially in the Valley of the Mississippi. Marvelous transformations in this region had taken place before their very eyes and they and theirs had helped to bring them about. True pioneers, they were proud of their race and of their work. From them he imbibed the Spirit of St. Louis and to the full took a pride in his native place. The Spirit of its Founders was in him and he continued to upbuild it to the day of his death. He was an active participant in all that promoted its advancement and always worked for the general good with a singleness of purpose and an exalted patriotism worthy of emulation today when his like is so sorely needed in our municipality.

In the family relation, he was a dutiful son, kind husband and indulgent father.

As a friend, he was generous to a fault and no call made on him for assistance or advice in the sacred name of friendship ever went unheeded no matter at what cost to himself or his family, or how unjustly exacting such demands might be. He considered no debt of gratitude he ever owed as paid, for with him

gratitude was the memory of the heart and that memory never failed him until his heart ceased to beat.

As a lawyer, he was distinguished for his robust integrity and high sense of honor.

As a Judge, he was industrious, faithful, impartial and just.

As a public officer, he sought the promotion of the public welfare as the first and last duty of a public servant. He filled many offices of trust, all with credit to himself and advantage to the community. Commencing with that of Clerk of the County Court; he was in succession—Justice of the Peace; Secretary of the Board of Public Schools, and later a Member of the School Board; Member of the Board of Aldermen, and twice its President; Member of the State Legislature; Clerk of the Circuit Court;—culminating in the Judgeship of the Criminal Court,—the last office held by him.

"The Primms[1] are descended from Alexander De La Pryme a gentleman of the town of Ypres who was granted a patent of gentility by the Roman Pontiff for meritorious services under Philip of Alsace in the second crusade. The family having embraced the reformed religion, were forced to leave the continent by Cardinal Richelieu after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and settled in England.

Abraham De La Pryme moved to the Isle of Man in 1725, and his second son John, emigrated to America, settling in Virginia about 1750. In deference to the prejudice existing against French names, the "De La" was dropped and the spelling changed to the present form. The eldest son John was a soldier in the Revolutionary Army, and in 1803 he moved west with his family of whom Peter, the father of Judge Wilson Primm, married Marie Angélique Le Roux D'Esneval. Her father was one of four brothers named Le Roux D'Esneval; three of whom fled from

[1] From "The Republican" (St. Louis, Mo.), Sunday, August 23, 1885, (with corrections.)

France during the Reign of Terror. One, whose portrait is in the possession of the family, was a Colonel in the body guard of Louis XVI, and was killed at the time of the attack on the Tuileries, August 10, 1792. Another went to San Domingo and perished during one of the insurrections of the slaves. Two brothers came to Canada, where one remained, the other coming to St. Louis, where he married Hélène, daughter of Jean Salé *dit* Lajoie and Marie Rose de Vial Pando, a lady of Spanish birth. The Primm coat of arms is on Poignard and cross quarterly crest—a cross. Motto—Animose Certavit, (He has fought courageously.) The Le Roux D'Esneval coat-of-arms bears six quarterings surmounted by a marquis' coronet. The most noted of these quarterings are those of the families Raymond, Le Roux and Esneval. The Raymond coat-of-arms is azur with cross argent, charged with five escallops—gules; the Le Roux coat-of-arms is azur with chevron argent, with the heads of leopards or; the Esneval coat-of-arms—in palé or and azur in chief gules."

John Primm, the second son of Abraham De La Pryme, emigrated from the Isle of Man some time prior to the year 1750 and settled in what is now the State of Virginia. He married an English woman, and raised a family of four sons: William, James, Thomas and John. We have only to do with his son John, who served in the Revolutionary War for seven years and took a part in the siege of Yorktown where he saw Lord Cornwallis surrender his sword to General Washington.

John Primm and Elizabeth Handsbrough were married in Virginia, October 9th, 1777. They moved west and settled in what is now St. Clair County, Illinois, in the year 1803. He was born in Stafford County, Virginia, May 17th, 1750; died in St. Clair County, Illinois, March 12, 1837. His wife was born in Virginia, January 5th, 1761; died October 25th, 1832. They had a family of thirteen sons and four daughters, as follows:

William, born September 14, 1778;

John, born July 25, 1780; married Ruth Cox, October 10, 1809; died August 9, 1848;

Thomas, born May 11, 1782; married Elizabeth Stallions, May 12, 1807; died May 14, 1856;

James, born September 10, 1783;

Peter, born April 25, 1785;

Daniel, born June 23, 1786;

Margaret, ("Peggy") born October 1, 1787; married John Stark, September 6, 1812; died December 9, 1872;

Enoch, born December 15, 1788;

Elijah, born March 8, 1790; died 1814;

Silas, born January 6, 1792;

Elizabeth, born May 26, 1793; married Stephen Lacey, March 13, 1817; died November 28, 1880;

Parmenas, born October 26, 1794;

Joseph, born September 14, 1795; married Eleanor Laughead October 7, 1819; died November 28, 1845;

Levi, born June 11, 1797; married Mrs. Susan Booker (nee Howard) April 3, 1823; died July 5, 1871;

Aram, born July 28, 1799; married Jael Million, December 27, 1825; died July 4, 1884;

Lydia, born January 31, 1801;

Mary, born July 31, 1804;

Peter Primm,[2] the grandson of the emigrant John, married Marie Angélique Leroux D'Esneval who was born[3] December 30th, 1792 in the old family home situated on the Western half block No. 57 at Third and Elm Streets. She was the daughter of Hélène Salé

[2] "Primm & Davis, Tailors, have entered into partnership, and will continue the business in P. Primm's old stand, opposite the late Mr. Robidoux's." From "The Missouri Gazette" April 25, 1809.

"Peter Primm recommences his tailoring business in the small shop next to Mad'e Lecompte's dwelling opposite to Doct. Simpson's drug store." From "The Missouri Gazette" August 22, 1812.

"The St. Louis Directory and Register by John A. Paxton, St. Louis, 1821," gives "Peter Primm Tailor 45 South Main—d. h. South B. above Church"

[3] From Collet's Cathedral Baptisms, Index.

dite Lajoie and Benjamin Leroux D'Esneval who were married[4] at the Catholic Church on the Seventeenth

[4] "L'an mil sept cent quatrevingt douze, le dix- septième jour de Janvier, après le publication des trois bans de mariage entre Benjamin Leroux fils légitime de germain Leroux et de Catherine Vallé Ses père et mère. De la paroisse de l'Assomption du Diocèse de québec, et Hélène Salé, dite la joÿe fille de jean Batiste Salé, dit Lajoÿe et de Marie Rose De Vialpande ses père et mère. De la paroisse De S'Louis aux illinois Diocèse de St Jacques de cubes domination d'espagne d'autre part, et n'aiant trouvé aucun empêchement à l'effet du dit mariage; je soussigné, curé de cette paroisse de S'Louis, ai reçu leur consentement mutuel et leur ai donné la bénidiction nuptiale en présence des témoins ci après sçavoir jean Baptiste Lavallée, grégoire Chenelier, Guillaume hibert dit Lecomte, Jean Baptiste Truteau et plusieurs autres dont trois ont signé et le quatrième ne seachant écrire a fait sa marque ordinaire enfoi de quoi.

Jean Baptiste Lavallée LeDru Miss. Curé
George Schindler
J. B. Truteau
Guillaume Hibert
sa
x
marque"

From Marriages 1781-1828 p. 28 (Cathedral)

(*Translation*)

In the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety two, on the seventeenth day of January, after the publication of the three banns of marriage between Benjamin Leroux, legitimate son of Germain Leroux and of Catherine Vallé, his father and mother, of the parish of the Assumption of the Diocese of Québec, and Hélène Salé called Lajoÿe, daughter of Jean Baptiste Salé, called Lajoÿe and of Marie Rose De Vialpande, her father and mother, of the parish of St. Louis in the Illinois, Diocese of St. Jacques of Cuba, in the domin ion of Spain on the other part, and having found no impediment to the performance of said marriage, I, the undersigned curé of this parish of St. Louis, have received their mutual consent, and have given them the nuptial blessing in the presence of witnesses named here below, to-wit: Jean Baptiste Lavallée, Grégoire Chenelier, Guillaume Hébert, called Lecomte, Jean Baptiste Truteau and several others, of whom three have given their signatures and the fourth not knowing how to write, his ordinary mark, in testimony whereof.

Jean Baptiste Lavallée LeDru Miss. Curé.
George Schindler
J. B. Truteau
Guillaume Hébert
his
x
mark"

day of January, 1792. Benjamin Leroux D'Esneval was a merchant at St. Louis, coming to this place from Canada shortly before his marriage. He died while on a trip to Quebec on January 24th, 1795 and was buried in the Cemetery of the Church of the Assumption on the 26th day of the same month—aged thirty-two years, according to the records of that parish.

Hélène Salé *dite* Lajoie was born[5] in St. Louis but the date is unknown, being shortly prior to the date of her baptism, which was August 11, 1773. She died[6] on July 17, 1859 at her home on Spruce Street between Third and Fourth, opposite the old Sisters Hospital. She was the daughter of Jean Salé *dit* Lajoie and Marie Rose de Vial Pando who were married here in 1770. Her father, Jean Salé *dit* Lajoie was a Voyageur and was among the first to settle in this part of the country, coming here in 1764 in the boat with Chou-

[5] "L'an mil sept cens Soixante et treize le onze d'aoûst je Soussigné ay Baptisse avec les cérémonies ordinaires de L'église hélène et marie Josèphe Jumelle, fille de jean Salle et de Marie Rose ponda dont la première a eu pour parain Joseph Rivard et pour maraine hélène taillon. Et la seconde Jean Baptiste Malvan et pour maraine Marie Josèphe Beau Soleille les parains ne sachant écrire ont fait leur marque.

Marque de Joseph Rivard x x hélène tayon,
marque de Jean Bte Malvan x Goudeau beausoleil

fr. Valentin, curè"

From Cathedral Baptisms.

(Translation):

In the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy three on the eleventh of August, I, the undersigned, have baptised with the ordinary ceremonies of the Church, Hélène and Marie Josèphe, twins, daughters of Jean Salé and Marie Rose Ponda, of whom the former had for godfather Joseph Rivard, and for godmother Hélène Taillon. And the second, Jean Baptiste Malvan and for godmother Marie Josèphe Beau Soleil, the godparents not knowing how to write, have made their mark.

Mark of Joseph Rivard x x Hélène Tayon
Mark of Jean Bte Malvan x Goudeau Beausoleil

fr. Valentin Curé

[6] Register of Deaths, Health Department, City of St. Louis, July 1859—Oct. 1859. Book H. p. 37.

teau from Fort Chartres.[7] About the year 1769 he built a house[8] of posts on a stone wall 25 feet by 20 feet on the northwest corner of the square or block No. 57, which block was bounded on the east by Rue de l'Eglise (Second Street), west by Rue des Granges (Third Street), north by now Elm Street south by now Clark Avenue. He was born in the year 1741 in the Parish of St. Pierre des Landes, diocese de Saintes en Saintonge France and was the son of Jacques Salé and of Jeanne Luneau. Marie Rose de Vial Pando was the widow of Jean Joseph Jacques who was killed by the Comanches about the year 1760. She was the daughter of Paul de Vial Pando and of —— Martine, and was born at Tauxe (Taos) diocese of New Mexico. The date of the death of Jean Baptiste Salé is unknown; his wife died[9] July 27, 1830 and was buried in

[7] "Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days" by Frederic L. Billon, St. Louis, 1886. p. 426.

For mention of name "*Layoie*" see "Fragments of Colonel Auguste Chouteau's Narrative of the Settlement of St. Louis. St. Louis 1858."—Note at bottom of p. 7.

See also "Journal of the Founding of St. Louis, Original and Translation—Col. Auguste Chouteau." Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 353 and 360.

[8] See "History of St. Louis City and County by J. Thomas Scharf." p. 147.

[9] "Le vingt huit de Juillet de l'année mil huit cent trente, je soussigné ai inhumé dans le cimetière de cette paroisse le corps
femme de Jean Salé,
de Marie Rose ∧ ~~Lajoie~~ administrée de tous les sacrements de notre Ste Mère L'Eglise Cath. Apost. & Rom. agée de cent quatre ans. Edm. Saulnier
∧ femme de Jean Salé ptre.
mots approuvés par moi soussigné.
Jos. A. Lutz
prêtre."

From Book of Sepultures, Cathedral. p. 166.

(Translation):

On the twenty eighth day of July of the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty, I, the undersigned, have buried in the cemetery
wife of Jean Salé,
of this parish the body of Marie Rose ∧ ~~Lajoie,~~ administered with

the cemetery of the Cathedral Parish on the 28th day of July, 1830 and her age is given as 104 years.

Priests not being stationed at St. Louis regularly in these early days, Peter Primm and Marie Angélique Leroux D'Esneval were married[10] before a civil judge on the 26th day of January, 1809 which marriage was re-validated at the Cathedral March 16th, 1818. She died[11] at twenty minutes past ten o'clock Monday night, July 28th, 1878 at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. Virginia I. Menkens, 3414 Chestnut Street. Peter Primm and his wife Marie Angélique had twelve children.

Wilson Primm, the eldest child, was born[12] January

all the sacraments of our holy mother the Cath. Apost. & Roman Church, aged one hundred and four years.
Λ wife of Jean Salé — Edm. Saulnier
words approved by me the undersigned — Priest
Jos. A. Lutz,
Priest.

[10] "On the sixteenth day of March, eighteen hundred and eighteen, has been revalidated in my presence the marriage of Mr. Peter Primm with Mary Angelica LeRoux, both of this town, married before a civil Judge on the twenty-sixth day of January in the year eighteen hundred and nine. Witness my hand
†L. Wm. Bp of (St.) Louis, Mo.
Peter Primm
M. A. Primm Felix De Andreis
prêtre de la Mission Vicaire
F. Niel, P."
Marriages 1781-1828 p. 155. (Cathedral.)

[11] Register of Deaths Health Department City of St. Louis July 1, 1877 to August 19, 1878 p. 173.

[12] "L'an mil huit cent onze le treize Mars j'ai baptisé Jean Baptiste né le cinq Janvier mil huit cent dix du mariage légal de Pierre Prime et de Marie Leroux, ses Parrain et Maraine ont été Hubert Guion et Hélène Leroux, lesquels ont signé avec moi.
fr. Urbain Px Trap. Ptre
Hubert Guion — Hélène Leroux
Peter Primm — Marie Leroux Primm.
From Liber Baptismorum 1806-1823 page 51. (Cathedral).
(Translation):
In the year one thousand eight hundred and eleven, on the thirteenth of March, I baptized Jean Baptiste, born the fifth of January one thousand eight hundred and ten, issue of the lawful mar-

5, 1810, in a house on Elm Street between Second and Third in St. Louis. In deference to his mother's wishes, he was baptized "Jean Baptiste" but his father did not like the French name so gave him that of "Wilson" by which he was generally known. He died[13] at his residence in Carondelet, No. 6220 Michigan Avenue at 6:30 P. M. Thursday, January 17, 1878.

He attended the village French school on La Grande Rue, conducted by our first school master Jean Baptiste Trudeau,[14] of whose latter days he gives an interesting sketch[15] in his "Old French Times." Originally this school was in a large log building containing a single room from 25 to 30 feet square and the presiding

riage of Pierre Prime and of Marie Leroux. His godfather and godmother were Hubert Guion and Hélène Leroux, who have signed with me.

fr. Urbain Px Trap. Priest
Hubert Guion — Hélène Leroux
Peter Primm — Marie Leroux Primm.

[13] Register of Deaths Health Department, City of St. Louis July 1, 1877 to August 19, 1878 page 347.

[14] For sketch of Trudeau, see "Journal of Jean Baptiste Trudeau among the Arikara Indians in 1795." in Missouri Historical Society Collections. Vol. IV, No. 1, page 14.

[15] "First on the list came 'Maitre Trudeau,' the village school master, a dreaded instructor of the younger, and a respected oracle of the older inhabitants. Let us view him in his palmiest days, when he taught the school on La Grande Rue, in a little, old-fashioned frame house near the center market. His scholars are ranged on benches along either side of a little, low room, apparently deeply interested in all the mysteries of the French grammars they contemplate. Maitre Trudeau, holding a birch, is standing in the center, and, as he turns from one side to the other, narrowly watching the trembling crowd of literary victims that surround him, his deep-set eye glancing fiercely from the enormous eyebrows that overhang them, you can tell by the deep glow of his countenance that he has just returned from a visit to the neighboring cafe. 'Maitre Trudeau' visits the cafe frequently—too frequently indeed for his own good; for see him a few years after, and he became degraded in the sight of his friends and weak and contemptible even before his own pupils. Towards the end of his career, he loses his sight, becomes a burden upon the charity of a few goodhearted friends, and finally dies, regretted by the honest villagers for his good qualities, and pitied for his unfortunate vice." From "Old French Times," by *Vieux Temps* (Wilson Primm).

genius of the place was, "Maitre Trudeau," a teacher of the old style who devoutly believed in that Solomonic injunction about sparing the rod and spoiling the child. Discipline was enforced in this temple of learning through the medium of a cat o'nine-tails, which the old teacher wielded with vigor and frequency, thereby inspiring, particularly in his youthful pupils, that degree of terror of himself and his office which, in the old times, was considered the first requisite of a teacher. He was certainly a strict, and even a harsh disciplinarian, and many are the stories told of the strange modes of punishment to which his pupils of either sex were subjected. One of his mildest was fastening a large placard to the back of the youthful offender inscribed with the nature of the offense. The pupil then paraded the main streets of the village, followed at a distance by two of his fellow pupils, who upon their return to the school reported that the offender had duly made the prescribed march. The only books used in this institution were the catechism and the prayer book. The scholars were taught their letters, their doctrine, their devotions from these two and at one and the same time learned to read and to pray. The only language used was French.

On the 23rd of February, 1823, Wilson Primm became one of the first pupils[16] of Elihu H. Shepard[17] at the old St. Louis College, located on Second Street between Market and Walnut Streets, south of where the Old Cathedral then stood. One of the first productions of the lithographic art introduced in St. Louis by Julius Hutawa presents this college building established by Bishop Louis Guillaume Valentine Dubourg.

[16] See "Autobiography of Elihu H. Shepard" pages 99 and 100.

[17] Elihu H. Shepard was by far the ablest of all our early school teachers and unique from the fact that before the end of his long and useful career, he had become a millionaire. But lest this bit of information may lead to a rush into the ranks and the consequent overcrowding of our noblest profession, I hasten to add that he did not save this sum out of his salary. So far, he is our only teacher who ever qualified for the millionaire class.

Its staff in 1823 consisted of Reverend Joseph Niel, president and curate of the parish; Rev. Leo Deyes; Rev. De Neckere, (afterwards Bishop of Louisiana); Rev. Michaud; Rev. Edmund Saulnier; Rev. Odigio; Colonel René Paul, instructor in mathematics; and Elihu H. Shepard in charge of the English Department. The best families of the town sent their sons to the St. Louis College, and Wilson Primm had for his fellow pupils on his entrance many who had in after days much to do with the upbuilding of St. Louis and the West. Familiar names are they all, to students of St. Louis History:—Theodore Labeaume, Edmund Paul, Saugrain A. Robinson, William F. Ferguson, Edward Tesson, William L. Ewing, Peter Alexander Berthold, René Paul, French Strother, Joseph Walsh, Jesse Benton, James O'Toole, Lewis M. Clark, Dunning McNair, Frederic McNair, Alexander McNair, Henri Chouteau, Gustav Soulard, Pascal H. St. Cyr, Leon Chenie and Thomas January. In company with such boys as these, and blessed with a teacher gifted with the art of instructing, every talent he possessed was awakened into growth and a thirst for the acquisition of knowledge came upon him, which was never quenched. In after years, Elihu H. Shepard often referred to the pleasure and satisfaction which the success and usefulness of his former pupil Wilson Primm had afforded him.

At these schools he showed such an aptitude for learning and such a desire for the acquisition of knowledge that at the earnest solicitations of his preceptors and friends he was sent to St. Joseph College at Bardstown, Kentucky, in the fall of 1827. He returned from there in 1829 with his diploma and the esteem and good will of all his preceptors.

In addition to the advantages possessed by him of association with boys from representative families, and a gifted teacher, he had afterwards access to and the use of the library of Bishop Rosati. His mastery of the classics and of the French, Spanish and Italian

WILSON PRIMM AT THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN IN HUNTING COSTUME.

From a miniature, in the possession of Mrs. Jacqueline Poepping, painted by Emile Leroux Herzinger, a portrait painter of St. Louis who had been a pupil of Horace Vernet. He copied it about fifty years ago from the original miniature on ivory painted in 1828 by P. RINDISBACHER, a St. Louis artist noted for his spirited sketches of Indians.

languages was complete and he spoke them correctly and fluently. In after years no member of the bar equaled him as a linguist, and probably but few in our universities. This knowledge of the French and Spanish languages was afterwards of great assistance to him in his law practice, as all the original grants of land in St. Louis were in one of these two languages and most of the litigation of this early day grew out of trouble over land titles. At the impeachment trial of Judge James H. Peck, Judge of the United States District Court for the District of Missouri, before the Senate of the United States, he was summoned to Washington to testify[18] on behalf of Judge Peck, which he did on Monday, January 10th, 1831. His knowledge of languages stood him in good stead here, for as a witness he was called upon to translate many of the old French and Spanish archives.

His chosen profession was the law, so upon his return from Bardstown, he at once entered the law office[19] of Edward Bates, who afterwards became Attorney General of the United States. Edward Bates, being an old friend of the family who had followed his career from childhood, took great interest and pleasure in instructing so apt a pupil, and Primm never lost an opportunity to attribute to his preceptor whatever of success he achieved in the legal profession. At the age of twenty-one he was admitted to the bar.

The first public office he ever held was that of Deputy Clerk[20] of the County Court of St. Louis County. His appointment to this office was approved by the County Court on Wednesday, February 22nd, 1832. He performed these duties for over a year.

[18] See "Report of the Trial of James H. Peck by Arthur J. Stansbury. Boston, 1833." Page 265.

[19] John F. Darby says: "Bates' office at that time was in an old stone house that stood on the corner of Third and Elm Streets. It was built by Rufus Easton."

[20] See "Records County Court No. 1" page 271.

On Tuesday, February 12th, 1833,[21] the County Court "deeming him competent to perform the duties of Justice of the Peace," recommended his appointment as such to the Governor of the State of Missouri to fill the vacancy occasioned by the expiration of the commission of Joseph V. Garnier, Esq., late Justice of the Peace of St. Louis Township. Governor Daniel Dunklin signed Primm's commission to this office on March 27th, 1833, and Primm took his oath as Justice of the Peace before Henry Chouteau, Clerk of the County Court, on April 9th, 1833, and assumed the duties of the office, which he continued to fill until Saturday, August 20th, 1836, when he came into court and filed his resignation,[22] which was accepted by the court.

In June, 1835, he formed a law partnership[23] under the name of Primm & Drake, with Charles D. Drake, lately arrived from Springfield, Illinois, which continued until January, 1840. Subsequently, George R. Taylor[24] and then Charles C. Whittlesey[25] succeeded Mr. Drake as a member of the firm.

In his younger days Wilson Primm was an ardent Whig politician and was noted as an eloquent campaign speaker. At a special election in the fall of 1834 he was elected to a seat in the Missouri House of Representatives to succeed Ben O'Fallon, who had resigned before the Legislature met. Primm ran on the

[21] See "Records County Court No. 1" page 311.

[22] See "Records County Court No. 2" page 42.

[23] Letter to Col. George Knapp from Hon. Chas. D. Drake January 21st, 1878. Published in "The Republican."

Firm name given as "Primm & Drake, 25 Pine Street" in "Keemle's St. Louis Directory for the years 1838-9."

[24] Firm given as "Primm & Taylor, 36 Chestnut Street" in "Chambers & Knapp's Saint Louis Directory for 1842."

Firm given as "Primm & Taylor, 34 N. First" in "Green's Saint Louis Directory for 1845."

Firm given as "Primm & Taylor, 36 Chestnut" in "Green's St. Louis Directory for 1847."

[25] Firm given as "Primm & Whittlesey, 36 Chestnut" in "Sloss' St. Louis Directory for 1848."

Whig ticket against Dr. Clayton Tiffin, the Democratic candidate. He served in the Eighth General Assembly[26] (1834-35) with Frederick Hyatt, Henry S. Geyer, Llewellyn Brown, George Strother, and Edward Bates as fellow members from St. Louis County. He was elected again in 1838 and served in the Tenth General Assembly[27] (1838-39) with John Sappington, Thomas Jarrell, Henry S. Geyer, Thomas Caulk, and Bernard Pratte from the same County. Primm was a faithful and efficient member of the House and introduced many bills to the benefit of St. Louis.

In 1834 he became a member of the Board of Aldermen[28] of the City of St. Louis from the First Ward. He served as Alderman from this ward during 1835-1836-1837 also, and was Alderman from the Second Ward in 1843 and again in 1847. The Revised Ordinances of the City of St. Louis issued in 1836 were printed and published under his direction in the capacity of Superintendent appointed by the Board of Aldermen. In 1836, James P. Spencer, President of the Board of Aldermen, died, and Primm succeeded him. In 1837 and again in 1843, he was President of the Board of Aldermen, a position for which his positive character and thorough knowledge of parliamentary law well qualified him. It was during his presidency of the Board that the matter came up before Congress through a memorial imploring that body to make an appropriation to save the harbor of St. Louis. Two sand bars were about to join in front of the City and cut us off from the river—throwing the river to the east of Bloody Island. An appropriation of $150,000.00 for the improvement of the harbor was made. Wilson Primm, working in conjunction with

[26] See "House Journal of Missouri 1834 1st Session 8th General Assembly" page 57.

[27] See "Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Mo. 1st Session 10th General Assembly, 1838," page 2.

[28] See "Revised Code of St. Louis. Woerner, 1907," Addendum, pages III, IV and V.

John F. Darby and Lieutenant Robert E. Lee (afterward General of the Confederacy) secured the best results from the expenditure of this sum, and saved our harbor by throwing the channel to the west.

Wilson Primm was one of the fathers of the present St. Louis public school system. He urged the sale of the "Commons" and the devoting of a part of the proceeds to the public schools. On January 24th, 1835, he made a "report to the Legislature in relation to St. Louis Commons, with a bill for disposition of same."[29] This bill was passed January 27th and was approved March 18, 1835. The result of his work was to provide the funds for the establishment of our free educational system. He assisted in organizing the first Board of Education, and was the first Secretary[30] from its organization, April 18, 1833, to November, 1834. He was Secretary again 1835 to 1836; again 1840 to October, 1840. On December 3rd, 1837, he was appointed a member of the Board of School Inspectors. In 1839-40 he was a Director of the St. Louis Public Schools from the First Ward. While in this latter capacity he served on the Finance Committee and wrote and submitted to the Board an interesting and illuminating report.[31] As long as he lived, he took an active interest in the schools and in the school children, to whom he made many and welcome addresses, the only one of which I can find a copy was an eloquent address delivered July 4th, 1865, on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the Blow School house in

[29] Title of bill and its history is as follows: "A Bill authorizing the sale of the Saint Louis Commons." Introduced and read January 24th, 1835; Read second time January 26th, 1835; Read third time January 27th, 1835 and passed. Approved March 18th, 1835. See Laws of Missouri 1834-35, page 501.

[30] See "First Annual Report St. Louis Public Schools St. Louis, 1854," by John H. Tice, p. 98.

[31] The title is: "Report of the Committee on Finance of the Board of President and Directors of the Saint Louis Public Schools. Adopted December 1839 and published by order of the Board." (Signed by) Wilson Primm, John McEvoy.

Carondelet. Carondelet has named a street[32] in his honor, but he did much more for the St. Louis Public Schools than he ever did for Carondelet; so it is meet and fitting that a school should be named in honor of the man who did so much to pass the law which furnished the funds wherewith to start our present public school system.

In 1846 he ran for Sheriff, but was defeated.

On Tuesday, January 9th, 1849, in consequence of the sudden death of the Clerk of the Circuit Court, General John Ruland, Judge Alexander Hamilton appointed Wilson Primm to perform the duties of the office[33] until his successor could be elected and qualified. Primm filled this office until June 4th, 1849,[34] when Michael S. Cerre qualified and took up the work.

Under the provisions of an ordinance approved January 14th, 1853, Wilson Primm was appointed City Counsellor[35] for the City of Carondelet for the term of one year, assuming the duties of that position on January 20th, 1853. As this office was abolished by ordinance July 9th, 1853, his services ceased with that date.

On November 3rd, 1863, he was elected Judge of the St. Louis Criminal Court to succeed Judge Clover. His commission for a term of six years was signed by Governor Hamilton R. Gamble on November 27th, and he took his seat on the bench[36] November 30, 1863.

[32] "Ordinance No. 34 giving names to Streets in the City of Carondelet. Approved August 9th, 1851." "Fifth—The street immediately south of 'Franklin Street' shall hereafter be known and called by the name of 'Primm Street.'"

"Primm Street runs east to west from 7900 South Wharf to River Des Peres."

[33] See "Record No. 19 1848 to 1850 Circuit Court" page 1. General John Ruland who was clerk of the Circuit Court for 15 years died of apoplexy on New Year's day 1849 in the county about 20 miles from his St. Louis residence. Buried Wednesday, January 3rd, 1849.

[34] See "Record No. 19 1848 to 1850 Circuit Court" page 141.

[35] See "Missouri Reports Vol. XXIII" page 22.

[36] See "Record No. 12 Criminal Court" page 364.

He was re-elected in 1869 and served until Saturday, November 21st, 1874,[37] when he vacated his office and turned over the trust so long held by him to his successor, the Honorable William C. Jones. He had again offered himself as a candidate for this office of which he was then incumbent, but he failed of renomination and so ran as an independent. He did not realize that no independent candidate ever has a chance of being elected unless there is a great popular uprising against the regular parties and their candidates. He was disastrously defeated[38] at the polls and retired to private life. He again took up the practice of law, but steadily failing health forced him to soon abandon this. His mental faculties remained vigorous and clear to the last, but his physical powers failed him rapidly and he was confined to his bed during the last six months of his life.

Judge Primm's career at the bar was long and honorable. He opposed or assisted the giants of the law in many of the important cases of his time. He held his own in such company as: Hamilton R. Gamble, Edward Bates, Henry S. Geyer, Thomas B. Hudson, R. S. Blennerhassett, Charles S. Rannels, Myron Leslie, Trusten Polk, Josiah Spalding, Beverly Allen, Uriel Wright, James R. Lackland, Henry A. Clover, Christian Kribben, George W. Cline, Charles G. Mauro, C. C. Simmons, L. M. Shreve, R. F. Wingate, T. G. C. Davis, and John M. Krum.

The most famous criminal case in which Primm appeared was the Montesquieu case. In this case he was associated with Edward Bates, H. S. Geyer, and Charles Gibson in the defense of two French noblemen, Raymond and Gonsalve de Montesquieu, brothers, indicted for the felonious killing of Kirby Barnum and Albert Jones on the night of October 29, 1849. Lackland prosecuted, assisted by Uriel Wright. After two

[37] See "St. Louis Globe Democrat" Sunday Nov. 22nd, 1874.
[38] See "St. Louis Republican" November 8th, 1874.

mistrials, however, Governor Austin A. King granted a pardon, as he had the power to do under the then constitution before conviction.

Wilson Primm was termed a just and honorable judge. Stern and upright in all his dealings, he was yet of a very sympathetic nature and always administered the law in the spirit of kindness and mercy.

The esteem in which Judge Primm was held by his professional brethren is well evidenced by the following tributes paid to him by prominent members of the bar who knew him long and intimately.

Charles D. Drake, his first law partner, thus speaks of him: "He was a man of very much more than ordinary ability, though never much of a student, he was a good lawyer, and a better judge. His power in either sphere was in his subtle analysis and clear perception of the real points involved. Always cool and collected, never impatient or exasperated, he managed his cases with a skill which I have never known surpassed by one of the age he was then."

George R. Taylor, who succeeded Drake as Wilson Primm's partner, in an eloquent address before the Missouri Historical Society, pays this tribute to him: "It seems to be universally conceded that Judge Primm's oratorical abilities, with a mind fully stored with general literature and the principles of his profession adding a dignified and genial bearing, with an exuberance of language at command, choice in its selection and uses, he stood almost irresistible before a jury, and was the peer of the foremost of the bar."

Alexander Hamilton, under whom he served as Clerk of the Circuit Court, pays him this tribute: "With a mind enriched by culture, and strengthened by careful training, he was not only eloquent at times, but was always a ready and skilful debater. None knew better the true use and power of language, or how to match the expression to the thought. It was this peculiarity, added to soundness of judgment, aptness and beauty of illustration, and a voice of rare

sweetness and variety of intonation, that made him so successful before a jury."

Wilson Primm was twice married, first[39] on June

[39] "Le trente Juin mil huit cent trente quatre, je soussingé Vicaire Général du Diocèse de St Louis, après la publication d'un ban de mariage fait pendant la Grande Messe le vingt neuf de ce mois, et dispense ayant été accordée des deux, aucun obstacle ne s'étant présenté, ni aucun empêchement ayant été découvert, ai reçu le consentement par paroles de présent entre Wilson Primm Ecaye Juge de paix pour la ville et comté de St. Louis fils légitime de Pierre Primm et de Mary A. Leroux d'une part, et demoiselle Amélie Guion, fille de Hubert Guion et de Joséphine Didier—d'autre part, et leur ai donné la bénédiction nuptiale en présence des témoins à cet effet requis et de plusieurs amis des parties contractantes, en foi de quoi.

Edw. Bates — Wilson Primm
James H. Peck — Amélie Guion
B. W. Ayres
Ant. R. Bouis — P. N. Borgna,
François LeBeau — V. G.
Joseph Guion
Marguérite Guion
Mary Primm
Marie A. Primm
Isabelle F. LeBeau
Joséphine Guion
Thérèse Sparks
Peter Primm
T. F. Marallano

From Liber Matrimoniorum 1828-1839 (Cathedral.)

(Translation):

On the thirtieth of June one thousand eight hundred and thirty four, I, the undersigned Vicar General of the Diocese of St. Louis, after the publication of one of the bans of marriage made during the High Mass on the twenty ninth of this month, and a dispensation having been granted of the other two, in the absence of any obstacle, nor any impediment having been disclosed, have received the consent by word of mouth of those present, between Wilson Primm, Esquire, Judge of the Peace for the City and County of St. Louis, legitimate son of Pierre Primm and of Mary A. Leroux on the one part, and Miss Amélie Guion, daughter of Hubert Guion and of Joséphine Didier, on the other part, and have given them the nuptial blessing in the presence of witnesses required to that effect and of several friends of the contracting parties, in testimony whereof

(names of witnesses given above.) — Wilson Primm
Amélie Guion
P. N. Borgna
V. G.

30th, 1834, to Amélie Guion. She was born[40] October 27, 1815—was the daughter of Hubert Guion and Josephine Didier and the granddaughter of Pierre Didier,[41 2] first Treasurer[43] of the State of Missouri under Governor McNair (he being appointed to this office September, 1820, and resigning in 1821). She was educated at the Convent of the Sacred Heart, then located at Florissant. She died[44] and was buried on April 6th, 1841.

Their children were:

Hubert W. Primm—Born July 31, 1836; married, first, Mary E. Lynch, Feb. 14, 1860, she died Jan. 27, 1864; married, second, Sarah A. Linton, May 14, 1868, she died Feb. 17, 1909. He died October 28, 1886. He was the first professor in the St. Louis College of

[40] From Collet's Cathedral Baptisms, Index.

[41 2] "John Pierre Didier, Watchmaker, came from Besancon, Franche Comté, France, with his wife and only child, an infant daughter and settled in St. Louis in the year 1793. On March 29th, 1796, he purchased the south half of Block No. 54 with a stone house at the northwest corner of Second and Poplar streets, in which he resided until his death, August 25, 1823, at the age of about sixty years. He filled the position of Territorial Treasurer for a number of years. His only daughter, Josephine, was married in May, 1811 (Cathedral records show this date to be 'February 22nd, 1814.' W. C. B.) to Hubert Guion, who was born here (on April 29th, 1791) and who died at Jefferson Barracks, May 23rd, 1833, where he was the clerk of the sutler, Captain George H. Kennerly. Mr. Guion left a son and two daughters, who became the first wives of Judge Wilson Primm and Moses Lamoureux—merchant."

From "Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days by Frederic L. Billon, St. Louis 1886." page 465.

See anecdote regarding him "An Honest Officer" in "Missouri Historical Society Collections" Vol. III, No. 2, page 193.

[43] See "Official Manual State of Missouri 1911-12" page 91.

[44] "L'an dix huit cent quarante et un, le six avril, nous prêtre soussigné avons donné le sepulture écclesiastique à Emilie Guion Prime—agée d'environ vingt-cinq ans. f. T. Cenaud ptre.

From Register Des Actes Mortuaires (Cathedral) 1832-47, page 78. (Translation):

In the year eighteen hundred and forty one, the sixth of April, we, priest undersigned, have given ecclesiastical sepulture to Emilie Guion Prime, aged about twenty-five years.

f. T. Cenaud priest.

Pharmacy and for twenty-seven years was proprietor of a drug store at Fourteenth Street and Washington Avenue.

Amélie Primm—Born July 21, 1839. She is the widow of Dr. Perry Eccleston Noel, whom she married March 3, 1859. Now resides at Los Angeles, California.

Wilson Primm married for the second[45] time a cousin of his first wife, Marguérite Guion, on July 31st, 1842, at the Cathedral. She was the daughter of Vincent Guion and Eulalie Deroin and was born[46] in a house near what is now the corner of Main and Pine Streets, on April 12th, 1816. Her father, Vincent Guion (born July 27th, 1793), was a younger brother of Hubert Guion (born April 29th, 1791), the father of Wilson Primm's first wife; and both of them were the sons of Amable Guion, Jr., who married Irene Felicité Robert in 1783 and settled in Carondelet. Amable Guion, Jr., was the first white boy born in St. Louis, his parents having come here from Cahokia[47] in the beginning of June, 1764, at Laclede's invitation. His father, Amable Guion, Sr., was killed[48] in the Indian massacre that occurred Friday, May 26th, 1780.[49]

[45] On the 31st day of July, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty two I, the undersigned, having granted dispensation upon the impediment of affinity in the first degree, joined together in the holy bonds of matrimony John Bte. Wilson Primm son of Peter Primm and of Angélique Marie Leroux of the one part and Margaret Devins Guion, daughter of Vincent Guion and Eulalie Deroin, of the other part, and gave them the nuptial benediction according to the rites of the Holy Catholic Church, before the requisite witnesses. In testimony whereof I signed.

Jos. A. Lutz,
Priest.

Wilson Primm
Marguérite Guion

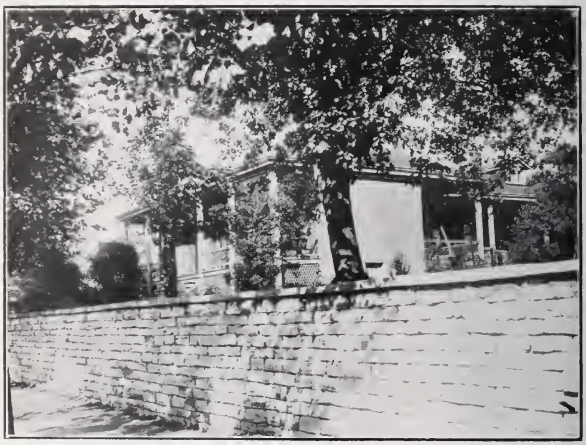
From Register of Marriages at the Cathedral of St. Louis page 150.

[46] From Collet's Cathedral Baptisms, Index.

[47] See "History of St. Louis" by Wilson Primm.

[48] See "Registry of Interments"—(Cathedral)

[49] First detailed description of this Indian Massacre was written in 1831 by Wilson Primm.



THE OLD PRIMM HOME.

At the North-East Corner of Michigan Avenue and Iron Street, Numbered 6220 Michigan Avenue.

Marguérite Guion received the first rudiments of her education from Maitre Trudeau. In 1827 she attended the private school[50] conducted by Elihu H. Shepard and his wife, which was located in a brick building on Fourth Street, opposite the Court House. She was also educated by Madame Du Chesne, who was the first Sacred Heart Sister to come to St. Louis. She survived her husband by many years, celebrating on May 17th, 1899, her half century of residence in one house, No. 6220 Michigan Avenue. She died[51] at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Jacqueline Poepping, 313 Iron Street (Carondelet), on July 12th, 1904. Her only surviving child is Mrs. Jacqueline Poepping, of St. Louis, widow of Bernard Poepping, the last Mayor of Carondelet before it became a part of St. Louis.

The children of Wilson Primm and Marguérite Guion Primm were:

Jacqueline Eulalie Primm—Born August 13, 1843; married Bernard Poepping, February 6, 1860. He died December 16th, 1895.

Isabel Primm—Born February 11th, 1846; died July 29, 1847.

Frederick Kretschmar Primm—Born November 27, 1847; died September 28th, 1861.

Vincent Bernard Primm—Born December 19, 1855; married Helen Moore, October 18, 1881. He died June 2, 1907.

Jean Baptiste Primm—Born July 13, 1860; married, first, Rosalie Saugrain Purkett, December 6, 1883—she died September 4th, 1884; married, second, Juliette Pecaut, April 12th, 1887. He died March 25, 1900.

On account of the cholera epidemic then raging, Wilson Primm moved his family down to the village of Carondelet on the morning of May 17th, 1849, and installed them in a three-room house on his property, now numbered 6220 Michigan Avenue. That night an

[50] See "Autobiography of Elihu H. Shepard" pages 100 and 111.

[51] "Record of Deaths No. 46 Health Department from January 1904 to September 10th, 1904" page 224.

old friend, Jean Lambert, drove up to this new abode, and handing out a bundle, said: "Here is your son Hubert, sick with the cholera, and by this time your house is burned down." Hubert recovered and the fire did not reach Mr. Primm's St. Louis residence. But the family never again left Carondelet and here Judge Primm lived to the day of his death. From this house, which was then several blocks distant from any other building, a beautiful view of the Mississippi for miles each way could be had. The nearest house was then SS. Mary and Joseph Church, a small brick structure where the parish school now stands. Not far away was the Convent of the Sisters of St. Joseph. Main Street at that time was the principal thoroughfare of Carondelet, and was four blocks to the east. The village extended from the river to Michigan Avenue and from Elwood to Stein Street. South of Stein Street and north of Elwood and west of Michigan Avenue was unbroken virgin forest, although Main Street extended as a country road to Jefferson Barracks, which was an important military post. Shortly before the Civil War Michigan Avenue was graded and the Primm residence, which had been on the level with the road, was left four feet above the street. In order to prevent washing away of the beautiful lawn, Primm built a retaining wall, which is still standing. The house originally contained only three living rooms, with cellars and wide piazzas on three sides. As the family grew, rooms were added until it contained ten. Four generations have lived together in this old homestead. When Primm moved to Carondelet it was necessary to travel back and forth to the larger town of St. Louis either by private conveyance or up and down the hills by the old bus lines which ran as far as the "Barracks" semi-occasionally. Here for nearly 29 years Wilson Primm was at home to all who cared to see him.

Popular with all classes, but especially admired and beloved by those of French descent in St. Louis and

Iron Street gateway to Primm Home.

Carondelet, he was the oracle whom they consulted upon all questions out of the range of their ordinary affairs, and they invested him with the attributes of counsellor, arbiter and judge. Hospitable and sociable to a degree unknown today, his comfortable and happy home attracted many friends to spend delightful evenings.

Especially was it the rendezvous of musical and literary people. He himself had rare musical talent. He was an accomplished performer upon the violin until incapacitated from further playing by an injury to his left shoulder received in that ill-fated Gasconade excursion on November 1st, 1855. He was also a master of the guitar and violincello, as well as a vocalist with a bass voice of great depth. His singing of the "Star Spangled Banner" in the rotunda of the Court House stirred the immense audience to the greatest enthusiasm. "Old Rosin the Beau" and "Old Grimes" were favorites of his, feelingly rendered. His repertoire was well nigh inexhaustible. Many of the old Congo and Creole songs which he sang were doubtless unknown even to George W. Cable. Says Mrs. Charles Balmer, our early musical authority, who was a contemporary of Judge Primm: "Judge Wilson Primm was a gentleman high in social circles. He was very fond of music and a fine musician himself. From 1838 to the middle of the 40's he was St. Louis' best bass singer and was the first American that sang Beethoven's Adelaide. I remember accompanying his singing in 1840."

His musical genius was inherited to the full by his children, his grandchildren and his great-grandchildren. This is one of the few cases where rare musical ability has descended in an unbroken line to the fourth generation. The musical training of his own children was well grounded. To this himself Wilson Primm saw. His daughters can to this day recall how every evening from childhood up each child was expected to sing or play one number at least be-

fore retiring. To the songs of La Belle France he was especially partial. Amélie, his eldest daughter, was a fine elocutionist and often recited selections from her father's favorite, "Lalla Rookh." His daughters possessed splendid voices which were highly cultivated. Hubert, his son, played the flute, and Bernard Poepping, his son-in-law, was a fine violinist. Numerous were the musical treats that neighbors and friends enjoyed from this harmonious and talented amateur troupe, and jolly good times generally in such genial and delightful company. The combination was usually accompanied on the piano forte by one of the daughters and occasionally assisted by Mr. William J. Romyn, a son-in-law of Edward Haren, who was a magnificent tenor.

Wilson Primm's gifts were not reserved for the pleasure of his family and friends alone; they were freely placed at the disposal of the public. He assisted in organizing and led the first choir of the old Cathedral under the organist Maragliano.[52] In addition to himself, this choir[53] consisted of: His sister, Virginia, a soprano (afterwards Mrs. A. H. Menkens);

[52] "Joseph F. Maragliano was appointed organist of the Cathedral by Bishop Rosati. I knew him well. He was a Genoese by birth. A Cuban coffee culturer for many years and when from reverses he left Cuba, and came to St. Louis, he was domiciled in my Mother's house, where he continued to reside until he disappeared, leaving for New Mexico on a trading expedition, from which time nothing was ever heard of him. Maragliano was not a far-famed teacher of vocal and instrumental music; he had never taught before he came to St. Louis. He was not a skillful performer either on the organ or piano, but he had taste, and was a master of counterpoint. He composed a mass, partly original and partly plagarized, which I have now in his own hand writing. It contains in some parts some very fine harmonies and melodies; he composed besides, some other short pieces for special solemnities, but none of the productions outlived his presidency over the Cathedral organ, save in the memory of those who knew that he was fond of music."

From "The Early Church" by Wilson Primm.

Tradition says that Maragliano wore a wig which had to be *dressed* frequently by Wilson Primm's Mother.

[53] See "The Early Church" by Wilson Primm.

his sister Mary (afterwards Mrs. Andrew Duhring); Mrs. Clemence Chouteau (wife of Henry Chouteau and daughter of Mrs. Coursault); Gabriel Paul, first violin; Colonel René Paul, violincello; Manuel, Baron de Hodiamont, alto; John J. Doubberman, Frederick L. Billon and John G. Stevenson; flutists; Mr. Storrs, bassoon; Mr. Blanchard, clarionet; Miss Aglae Generally, Miss Thérèse Bosseron and Augustin, a mulatto slave of Bishop Dubourg, a fine tenor; Father De Neckere, a deep basso; Mrs. Hay, and Britton A. Hill.

His services to the Cathedral were not confined to his work in the choir. On April 6th, 1830, he was appointed permanent Secretary to the Building Committee and served as such until the completion of the Cathedral, the disposition of the pews and its consecration on October 26th, 1834. With the exception of a few minutes in the handwriting of Bishop Rosati, all the records are in his hand.

Wilson Primm was in great demand as a public speaker and the range of subjects he discussed cannot but be a matter of surprise. Only a few of the titles of these addresses can now be had. In addition to those I have mentioned elsewhere, I find the following:

Address at the laying of the cornerstone of the First Catholic Orphan Asylum in St. Louis on Third Street, between Market and Walnut Streets, May 5, 1835.

The Spirit of Inquiry, a lecture by Wilson Primm, delivered before the Carondelet Lyceum, Carondelet, Missouri, March 5, 1860.

Oration of Hon. William Primm at the laying of the cornerstone of the St. Louis County Insane Asylum, December 1, 1864.

Address at the celebration of the third anniversary of the battle of Dalton, given at Washington Hall, Wednesday, August 14, 1867.

Address before the Criminal Court on the death of Judge Charles B. Lord, of the Circuit Court, November 20, 1868.

Presentation to Philip G. Ferguson ("Jenks") December 23, 1869.

Response to a toast, The President (U. S. Grant) of the United States, delivered at the banquet of the Knights of St. Patrick, March 17, 1870.

Response by Wilson Primm, on behalf of Mrs. Lucas, to the presentation to her of the bust of himself by her husband, James H. Lucas, June 4, 1870. This bust was the work of James Wilson Alexander McDonald, the sculptor, and is now in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society.

In Memoriam. Statues of Judge Bates and General Lyon, October 3, 1870.

The Beethoven Centennial, December 17, 1870.

On the death of Ernst W. Decker, address before the St. Louis Criminal Court, December, 1871.

Address before the Photographers' Convention in St. Louis. Date unknown.

Public greeting to Henry T. Blow. Date unknown.

Address on presentation by Henry T. Blow of a Paul Veronese, "The Sacrifice of Abraham," to St. Joseph's Convent, Carondelet. Date unknown.

Address before the Criminal Court in Memory of the Woman Lawyer, Miss Lemma Barkeloo, a graduate of Washington University Law School. Date unknown.

He took part in numerous entertainments, of only one of which I find a record. On April 23rd, 1864, in Mercantile Library Hall, a program was carried out in celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of Shakespeare for the benefit of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair. Judge Wilson Primm gave the second number on that program—a reading from "As You Like It," All the World's a Stage.

As an orator of force and grace, his masterpiece in this line was delivered on February 15, 1847, when the eighty-third anniversary of the founding of St. Louis was celebrated. Standing on the east steps of the Court House, he held a vast throng spell-bound by his

eloquence. And when at the banquet at 4 o'clock on that same day in the State Tobacco Warehouse, he rose to respond to the toast, "The Orator of the Day," all felt that the description of that orator appended to the toast was a justly deserved tribute, well earned. It was, "Who So Eloquent as the Historian of his Childhood's and His Father's Home?"

It was this address and his contributions to the press concerning our early history which roused a sympathetic interest in the cradle period of St. Louis, culminating later in the Missouri Historical Society. On August 1st, 1866, Wilson Primm signed a call for the organization[54] of the Missouri Historical Society, took part in its organization August 11th, 1866, and served as one of the committee to draft the constitution and by-laws. On October 27th, 1866, he enrolled his name as a member. On November 3rd, 1866, he was elected Second Vice President. He took a live interest in the affairs of the Society and delivered the following addresses before it:

Plea for the preservation of materials for the history of St. Louis. An address delivered at the organization of the Missouri Historical Society, August 11th, 1866, in Circuit Court Room No. 1.

New Year's Day in the Olden Time of St. Louis. Read by Hon. Wilson Primm before the Missouri Historical Society, Saturday, January 5, 1867.

The First Church Erected in St. Louis, in the Year 1776; Its Description and History. Read before the Missouri Historical Society, February 4, 1867.

History of the Catholic Church in St. Louis. Sketch of the History of the Catholic Church in St. Louis, from the foundation of the City to the advent of the First Catholic Bishop in 1818. Read before the Missouri Historical Society, September 7, 1867, by Hon. Wilson Primm.

[54] See "History of St. Louis City and County," by J. Thomas Scharf, page 897.

Address of Hon. Wilson Primm before the Missouri Historical Society. Object of the Association; Character of the First Settlers of St. Louis; Their Relations to the Early Rulers; Illustrations of Primitive Manners and Customs; Duties of the Historical Society. Delivered September 28, 1867.

Origin of Old Local Names. An address by Hon. Wilson Primm, delivered before the Missouri Historical Society on Thursday evening, June 2, 1870.

The Early Church. A Retrospective View of the First Religious Establishments in St. Louis. The Musical Attractions and Imposing Ceremonials of Their Worship. Address of Hon. Wilson Primm before the Missouri Historical Society, September 16, 1875.

Mention of Wilson Primm's part in organizing the Missouri Historical Society recalls the fact that in the spring of 1838 he, together with twenty-one other members of the St. Louis bar, signed[55] the "Proposals for Establishing the Law Library Association of the City of St. Louis," and was one of its incorporators; the act to incorporate it having been enacted by the Tenth General Assembly and approved[56] February 1st, 1839. Wilson Primm and his associates builded better than they knew and the St. Louis Law Library has become the model of its kind in the United States and is a monument to its projectors and to those who have carried forward the work initiated by them.

In common with every other public spirited citizen of his time, Wilson Primm early joined the Volunteer Fire Department.[57] He was a member of Washington Fire Company No. 3 of the Volunteer Fire Department of St. Louis, but for what length of time the records do not show. He seems to have belonged to this company from its inception until after the fire of 1849.

[55] See original "Proposals" framed and hanging in the St. Louis Law Library.

[56] See "Laws of Missouri 1838-39" page 59.

[57] See "History of the Volunteer Fire Department of St. Louis, by Edward Edwards, 1906" page 151.

This company was composed mainly of French and German citizens of the better class, all residents of the southern part of the city. It was located during the greater part of its existence in a frame building on the east side of Second Street, south of Spruce; and later in a brick engine house on the south side of Spruce, midway between Second and Third Streets.

A thorough American, he yet loved the French race from which he sprung. Of the same extraction as the Canadian voyageurs and early pioneers, he was of almost pure Creole descent. In common with all his race, he possessed their deep-rooted love for home and ancestry. Born and reared in St. Louis, acquainted with its rise and progress through a period of more than half a century, he knew more about the affairs of the early inhabitants and their descendants than any other living man. The history of St. Louis was as familiar to him as that of his own family, for his mother's people had come here with Laclede and were present at the founding of St. Louis. As a child, his mother, Marie Angélique Leroux Primm, was personally acquainted with the old settlers of that time. Her memory was remarkable, accurately recalling scenes and incidents and portraying them with a vigor that always charmed her audience. The most attentive and sympathetic of that audience was her son Wilson. He was even more like his mother than sons usually are, and his eager and retentive mind stored up this wealth of tradition to be used in after years in his early sketches of St. Louis under the titles of "Old French Times" and "Old Times in St. Louis." The pen name he signed to these contributions was "Vieux Temps."

Believing as he did that the true character and history of a people could be gathered as well from a record of their domestic habits as from that of their political mutations, he did a unique work in preserving to us a picture of early St. Louis life which but for him would not be handed down. Commencing with

the "Missouri Republican" and the "St. Louis Reveille," he contributed these sketches to the daily press down to the last ones written by him for the "Carondelet Review." For over fifty years he wrote valuable articles on early days, first settlers and incidents of life in St. Louis and Carondelet. This mass of historical information lies buried in old newspaper files, inaccessible oftentimes to even the student. It is all well worthy of being collected and reprinted. For St. Louis he is the one recognized authority respecting persons and events of the past, and while not given the credit, is the source of much of the information regarding St. Louis found in Scharf and Hyde.

Judge Primm always looked forward to the day when he could lay aside the cares and burdens of office and of practice and take up the writing of a more pretentious history of St. Louis than was contained in his disjointed sketches. He gathered together much material and made many notes in preparation for this work, but his rapidly failing health after his retirement from the bench precluded any more labor and he died with the desire of his life unsatisfied. Only a few fragments of this projected work are preserved, from the introduction to which as showing his method of gathering his historical data, I here quote:

"I have no anticipation that the following sketch of St. Louis will prove interesting to the general reader; but to those who remember the old village as it was nearly half a century ago, it may be interesting to find that some one had undertaken not to give the history of a city connected with great political events or changes, but to portray in truthful colors a people whose upright character and simple habits were in strong contrast with those of the present day.

"In the year 1831 I was a member of the St. Louis Lyceum, and at the request of that society I prepared and delivered before it a lecture, embodying some salient facts relating to the history of St. Louis. The task which I had assumed involved the necessity of

learning and verifying very many things which were not to be procured from records and which could only be found in the memory of living witnesses. Fortunately there were then living several persons who were co-eval with the settlement of St. Louis; persons of fair education, of excellent mind, and to whose memories the things of the past in their most minute details were as vivid as the occurrences of a week before, and perhaps more so. The knowledge of these persons was cheerfully imparted to me, and it is from copious notes then taken, from the recollections of those who lived in Spanish times after the permanent establishment of St. Louis, from the notes of the late Auguste Chouteau, from the archives of the French and Spanish Governments, and from other reliable sources that I have been enabled to prepare a sketch which if it has no other recommendation, has that of truth. The historical statements of those two productions (The Lecture in 1831 and the Oration in 1847) have never been controverted, although at the time they were severally published witnesses were living who could and would have impeached them had they been incorrect.''[58]

[58] In explanation of the discrepancies corrected in the foot notes appended to Primm's History of St. Louis, it must be borne in mind that this sketch is the first history of St. Louis and being a pioneer work, is subject to all the inaccuracies of such a production, which in no wise impair its value. It blazed a trail for others to follow and made the way easier for them. Primm was the first to make a record of our early history, and fact and tradition were so inextricably interwoven that he could get no perspective. His work has a tremendous value in that he has preserved that which but for him would have been forever lost. Remember that he did not have as we have the advantages of the researches of Gayarré, and later of those of Houck who has raised an enduring monument to himself by collecting and printing the old French and Spanish archives in his two works—"The History of Missouri" and "The Spanish Regime in Missouri," making them in the true sense of the term, source books of history.

HISTORY OF ST. LOUIS.

(The following article was prepared for the St. Louis Lyceum, by a young gentleman of that City,* who has been so obliging as to give it to us for publication, at our earnest solicitation. Having been carefully compiled from authentic materials, we have no doubt of its accuracy.)

Spain, France and England, in the seventeenth century, claimed, it is well known, the greater part of North America, by right of conquest, or of discoveries made under their patronage and direction. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, with regard to these three kingdoms, contained a provision for the restitution of the conquests which had been made from each other, but was wholly silent as to the boundaries of their possessions in America. In a country newly discovered, and but little known, it was natural that claims so extensive and undefined should clash, and that the claimants of territory should encroach on each other. Indeed, the subject of boundary, between France and England particularly, had from the first been unsettled, and the source of long and fruitless negotiation. France, besides owning Canada in the north, had, under the discoveries of de la Salle, settled the country on the Mississippi in the south. In 1753[1] she determined to connect her northern and southern possessions by a chain of posts along the lakes and the river Ohio. Fort du Quesne, now Pittsburgh, and Fort de Chartres, the ruins of which are yet to be seen on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, were links of that chain of military out-posts. Such a proceeding, if ef-

* This article was written by Mr., afterwards Judge, Wilson Primm. It has been edited for the COLLECTIONS by Mr. William Clark Breckenridge.

[1] This scheme of connecting Canada with Louisiana was a revival of LaSalle's plan, which he had advocated over seventy years before. Fort Chartres was founded in 1719, and Fort Du Quesne in 1754.

fected, threatened to be highly detrimental to the interests of the English, by giving them a frontier of great extent to defend against the Indians and French, in the event of war, and by confining them to the narrow borders of the Atlantic. It was consequently resisted, and the protracted war ensued, in which our Washington first displayed his military skill. From America, the war was transferred to Europe, waged without intermission for seven years, and only ended with the treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762, which was ratified by the treaty of Paris, of the year following. By this treaty, England acquired all the country *east* of the Mississippi, which, after the adoption of the constitution, was ceded by Virginia to the United States, under the name of the North-western Territory. By a secret article in that treaty,[2] also, all the country *west* of the Mississippi, called Louisiana, was ceded by France to Spain. In 1800, it was retroceded to France, and by her, in the same year, sold to the United States, for fifteen millions of dollars.

Spain did not take possession of her newly acquired territory until 1769, when Count O'Reilly, invested with extraordinary powers, and at the head of a considerable body of troops, landed at New Orleans, took possession of the country in the name of his Catholic Majesty, abolished the existing form of government, and established a new one, conformable to the laws of Spain. Until this change was effected, however, French laws remained in force in the province, and the officers of the French government continued to exercise their functions as if no change had taken place. In fact, the subjects of the French monarch were not aware that they had passed under a foreign domination. The mild administration of his government had endeared it to them, and it was probably owing to this fact, that Spain delayed taking possession, and that when she assumed the reins, it was thought prudent to clothe her

[2] Not, as stated, by a secret article in the Treaty of Paris; but by a secret cession made by France to Spain, November 3, 1762.

representatives with military power, for the purpose of awing the disaffected into submission.

"In the year 1762, Mr. Dabadie, being Director General and military and civil Governor of the Province of Louisiana, granted to a company under the name of Laclede Ligueste, Maxan and Company,[3] the necessary powers to trade with the Indians of the Missouri, and those west of the Mississippi, above the Missouri, as far as the river St. Peter." (*Deposition of Aug. Chouteau, on file in the office of the Recorder of land titles at St. Louis.*) The traffic in furs and peltry with these Indians, though of intrinsic value, was rendered unavailable, from the want of convenient stations near the mouth of the Missouri, to serve as places of deposit for the merchandise, which was the basis of the trade. This disadvantage, together with the difficulty and risk attendant upon the traffic, was felt by the French government in Louisiana, and disposed them to grant privileges and immunities to such as should engage in it. An exclusive charter, such as that above mentioned, could not but be beneficial both to the grantor and grantee. To the latter it opened a mine of wealth, dangerous, certainly, in the exploration, but highly profitable, if managed with industry and prudence: to the former, the advantage consisted in this, that the trade would in time become a source of revenue; the navigation of the Mississippi would cause the settlement and improvement of the country bordering upon it; and, finally, each trading post, each place of deposit, would become a nucleus, round which, plantations would be formed and villages arise. Such, indeed, was

[3] "The style of the firm varies. But 'Maxent, Laclede & Co.' is the form of the signature attached to several documents in the office of the St. Louis Recorder of Deeds. 'Maxent' is written in a variety of ways. Even Laclede himself sometimes spells the word '*Maxan*,' but doubtless '*Maxent*' is the correct form."—From Scharf. page 63.

Maxent's full name was: Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent. Gayarré names St. Maxent as a leading merchant of New Orleans. He was the brother-in-law of Governor Luis de Unzaga as well as the father-in-law of Governor Don Bernardo de Galvez.

partly the result; for soon after the settlement of St. Louis, towns and villages sprung up throughout Upper Louisiana, and the interior assumed the lively appearance of civilization and industry.

"In consequence of the powers with which he was invested, Mr. Laclede formed an expedition, at the head of which he was placed, and started from New Orleans on the 3d of August, 1763. On the 3d of November, in the same year, he arrived at Ste. Genevieve, but finding no place suitable for the storage of his goods, and being still too far from the Missouri, a proximity to which, was an object with him, he proceeded on to Fort de Chartres, which was still in possession of the French troops." (*Dep. of A. Chouteau.*) Thence he proceeded immediately towards the mouth of the Missouri river, in search of a spot suitable for an establishment of the kind he had in view. Having fixed upon a site he returned to Fort de Chartres, from whence he started again in the beginning of the month of February, 1764,[4] with the men whom he had brought with him from New Orleans, a few from Ste. Genevieve, and some from the Fort. On his route, he passed through the town of Cahokia, engaging several families to go with him to the proposed establishment. On the fifteenth, they reached the place of destination, proceeded to cut down trees and draw the lines of a town, which was called, by *Mr. Laclede, the founder,* St. Louis, in honor of Louis XV., the reigning monarch of France.

In several sketches of the history of St. Louis, which

[4] Laclede was not here himself at that time, but sent Auguste Chouteau to direct the work. He himself arrived in St. Louis in the early part of April.

Primm gives the correct date of the founding of St. Louis (February 15, 1764), which proves that he had never seen the fragment which we now call Chouteau's Journal. For the changed date in that journal, see "Journal of the Founding of St. Louis, Original and Translation," and halftone plate of Chouteau's entry of the date in the Original Journal. Missouri Historical Society Collections, Volume III, Number 4, page 338, Note 3.

have appeared in the public papers, the honor of having founded it is awarded to Mr. Auguste Chouteau. These statements, uncontroverted as they have been, have caused the belief which generally prevails, that he was the founder. The writer risks something, no doubt, in opposing it, but the task which he has assumed, of presenting not only a history of this town, but a *correct* one, constrains him to it. The evidence, at least, which opposes the popular belief, is so strong, as to vindicate the writer from the imputation of wishing to pluck from the brow of merit, the chaplet of honor; and the feelings of delicacy, which, under other circumstances, might be indulged, must now be laid aside.

The writer had frequently heard doubts suggested on this subject, but the question was not then of sufficient interest to him to prompt an inquiry. When he undertook, however, to prepare this paper, it became necessary to arrive, if possible, at the truth. With that view, he had recourse to several of the French inhabitants, in the truth of whose statements he knew the most implicit confidence could be placed. The persons thus applied to are aged, the most of them having been born within ten or fifteen years after the foundation of the town. They knew nothing *personally,* but all concurred in saying that Mr. Laclede was the founder; that Mr. Chouteau was a boy when the town was founded; that thus they had always heard their fathers say. This tradition, though strong evidence, was still not sufficient. The writer called on a lady who is said to have been the first woman that came to St. Louis. Mrs. L.,[5] though very aged, blind, and almost deprived

[5] This was Marguérite Blondeau Guion—Hébert *dite* Lecomte, known to the Primms as "Grandmother Lecomte." She was blind for many years previous to her death in 1832. She was the great grandmother of Mrs. Wilson Primm.

Marguérite Blondeau was the daughter of Thomas Blondeau and of Marie Josèphe de Celles Duclos. Her parents were married in Montreal on January 7, 1737, and she was born there. In what year they removed to Illinois is not known, but Primm says

of the use of her limbs, still retains the faculties of her mind, strong and unimpaired. Her recollection of the scenes through which she has passed, is perfect; in addition to which she has that happy facility of manner and language, united with a spirit of politeness,

that she was living in Cahokia in 1763; and the St. Louis Archives show that on August 5, 1766, Thomas Blondeau received a grant from St. Ange of a lot 120 by 150 feet front on Rue Royal, N. E. quarter of Block 43, and that in 1776 her father and mother were living at her home in St. Louis. Her father died some time between the years 1777 and 1780, as he is referred to as "deceased" in the marriage contract between herself and Hébert. Her mother died in April, 1781, aged 70 years. She came of a family long prominent in Canada, her great grandfather being Gabriel de Celles Duclos, Sieur de Seilly, Juge Civil et Criminel.

Marguérite Blondeau was married to Amable Guion, Sr., and came to St. Louis from Cahokia in 1764. Her husband, who was a stone mason by trade, was killed in the Indian Massacre, which occurred May 26, 1780. She was the source of Wilson Primm's information regarding this Massacre, and her account of it was naturally tinged with feeling due to the personal loss she had suffered through this attack.

The inventory of Guion's estate, made October 31, 1780, shows that he left her well provided for; its total value was 5475 livres—15 sols. This estate was left equally to her and her son Amable Guion, Jr. Besides personal property, it consisted of: "A stone house 40 feet wide by 26 feet deep, built by Amable Guion, Sr., in 1766, and the ground thereto belonging, 120 feet front by 150 feet deep, fronting on the Rue Royal, and extending down to the bank of the Mississippi river—valued at 2500 livres; a piece of land one arpent front by 40 arpents deep in the Prairie Des Noyers—valued at 150 livres; two arpents of land in the Cul de Sac of the Grand Prairie—valued at 200 livres."

According to Cathedral Records, the widow Guion on November 8, 1780, married Guillaume Hébert *dit* Lecomte, son of Louis Hébert and Catherine Quentin, born in the Parish of L'Ange Gardien, Bishopric of Québec, Canada. He was a trader living in St. Louis. Their marriage contract, signed November 3, 1780, recites that she brings to her husband "The sum of Nine Hundred Dollars, Four Hundred Dollars of which her Mother has given to her in consideration of her friendship, and as a personal dower."

Guillaume Hébert *dit* Lecomte had a stone quarry in St. Louis in 1799, and Chouteau testified that he got stone from him in that year, paying him 5 sous per load.

On December 2, 1793, Amable Guion, Jr., deeded to Guillaume Hébert *dit* Lecomte and Marguérite Blondeau his wife, his half interest in the property originally belonging to his father, and located on the north half of Block 5, for the sum of 1250 livres, in

which renders the communication of intelligence both striking and agreeable. The details which she gave, are so clear and connected, that it is impossible to doubt them. She was born in the year 1745; in the year 1763, being eighteen years old, she was married and living in Cahokia, when, in the month of November, as she believes, Mr. Laclede passed through that town, on his way towards the mouth of the Missouri, in search of a situation to form an establishment. In the month of February, in the following year, he again passed through the town, with the men he had brought from New Orleans, with some from Fort de Chartres, and some from Ste. Genevieve; amongst these, was Auguste Chouteau, then a boy of about fifteen years of age. Mr. Laclede induced several persons to go from Cahokia, to his proposed establishment, and amongst others, her husband. She remained in Cahokia until the close of the month of May, when the Mississippi rising, overflowed the town, and inundated the floor of the house in which she lived; a Mr. Trotier, a resident of the town, offered her a refuge in his house, which she refused, on the ground that as she was compelled to go to *Pain Court* (the name that St. Louis acquired at that time, from the scarcity of provisions, which were brought from Ste. Genevieve), she might

accordance with the terms of a mutual deed between himself and his mother, signed December 11, 1784, binding either party to sell only to the other, and at the above price.

Guillaume Hébert *dit* Lecomte made a will signed February 27, 1797. Having no children, he left all he was possessed of, amounting to $5,500.00, "to my wife Marguérite Blondeau, to enjoy with the blessing of God and my own." But he did not die when he expected, and evidently his possessions increased in value for in the List of St. Louis Land Owners in 1805, he was *assessed* at $5,000.00. (See page 186 of Missouri Historical Collections, Volume III, No. 2.)

He died February 20, 1809, and was buried from the Cathedral the next day by Jean Baptiste Trudeau, *Chantre.*

Marguérite Blondeau Hébert *dite* Lecomte died October 30, 1832, and was buried from the Cathedral on October 31.

There exists what is said to be an excellent likeness of her in the shape of an oil painting in the possession of Mrs. Poepping.

as well do it at once. Accordingly, she and her husband moved to St. Louis in the beginning of June. There were then only two or three houses, or rather huts, in St. Louis, one of which belonged to Mr. Laclede. The men were employed in building for Mr. Laclede the house in which Auguste Chouteau resided before his death; while she, and the greater part of the settlers, lived for a time on scaffolds, elevated six or seven feet above the ground, to protect themselves from the wild beasts which abounded. Mr. Laclede gave lots of ground to the settlers, in admeasurement of which, Auguste Chouteau generally carried the chain for him.

Another lady, Mrs. B.,[6] remarkable for her piety, intelligence, and amiable disposition, states that when about eleven or twelve years old, she came from Kaskaskia, where she then resided, on a visit to St. Louis. When she first knew Mr. Chouteau he was a little boy, some three years older than herself. She was godmother to Mr. Chouteau's wife, and he, on that account, also called her godmother; when she would reprove him for it, on the ground that it made her appear older than himself, he invariably stated the difference between their ages to be three years. Mrs. B. is now seventy-eight years old, which would make Mr. Chouteau, at the foundation of St. Louis, about fourteen years of age.

Two other persons who were among the first settlers

[6] This was Marie Thérèse Delisle Brazeau, born in Kaskaskia in 1753. She was the daughter of Louis Bienvenu Delisle and of Marie Thérèse de Vinsenne, who were married at Kaskaskia on November 6, 1752. She was married at the Church of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady of the Kaskaskias and Tamarois in Kaskaskia, November 7, 1769, to Joseph Brazeau, Jr., who was the son of Joseph Brazeau, Sr., and of Françoise Dizier of the same place.

In 1781, Joseph Brazeau, Jr., received a grant from Cruzat on the Mississippi and on Gingras for services; and they removed to St. Louis in that year. He was born at Kaskaskia in 1742 and died in St. Louis, November 23, 1816. His wife died at the same place in February, 1834. They had no children. There is a monument to her in Calvary Cemetery.

have made statements similar to the above. Nor are they unsupported. In the Missouri Republican of the 24th February, 1829, we find an obituary notice of Mr. Auguste Chouteau, sanctioned, it is presumed, by his relatives, in which his age, at the time of his death, is stated to have been eighty years. St. Louis had then been founded sixty-five years; consequently, Auguste Chouteau was fifteen years old at the foundation of the city; a fact which, in our opinion, settles the question.

The spot thus selected, was covered with a growth of timber,[7] which extended north and south along the margin of the Mississippi, and west as far as to the prairie. The selection was certainly a happy one. Immediately below the junction of two mighty rivers, and but little above the mouth of another, with a chain of water communication from the Atlantic almost to the Pacific ocean, it seems to have been formed by nature, for the site of a great and populous city, and to have been intended for the *depot* of the greater part of the western country. After its foundation, all that was necessary to bear it along in the career of importance, was enterprise and industry. Fortunately, when the country was transferred to the United States, the commercial advantages of St. Louis, the healthiness of its situation, and the fertility of the soil around and above, attracted to it numbers of energetic men, who have caused it to make rapid strides towards greatness. The immense superiority which its locality gives it, will always ensure the monopoly of the commerce, and render it the mart of the mineral, agricultural, and fur countries which lie above it on both sides of the Mississippi river.

"Seventeen months after the foundation of St. Louis the Fort de Chartres was evacuated by the French

[7] "It is said that the site of the original village was covered with a beautiful grove of Walnut trees, without underbrush and with a fine blue grass turf."

See Journal of the Founding of St. Louis, Missouri Historical Society Collections. Volume III, No. 4, page 351, Note 5.

troops." (*Dep. of Aug. Chouteau.*) The ostensible cause was that its situation was low, unhealthy, and subject to inundation. The real cause, no doubt, was that the French, having by the treaty of Paris, ceded the country east of the Mississippi to the English, were obliged to abandon the military posts they possessed in that country. "On the 17th of July, 1765.[8] *M. de St. Ange de belle rive,* the commander of the Fort de Chartres, together with officers and troops, arrived at St. Louis, and assumed the reins of government."[9] (*Dep. of Aug. Chouteau.*) Whether authority was delegated to him by the Director General, or whether it was a mere assumption of power on his part, cannot now be ascertained; certain it is, that his authority was submitted to by the inhabitants, and immediately after his arrival, St. Louis was considered the capital of Upper Louisiana. Having organized the government, he proceeded early in the spring to parcel out the lands to the settlers.

[8] "As the result of a treaty between France and England, France in 1763 purchased peace with England by ceding to her all her possessions in America, except Florida, New Orleans and all the territory west of the Mississippi River already transferred secretly to Spain. Owing to the activity of Pontiac and his allies, the British had great difficulty in getting troops to Fort Chartres. It was not until October 9th, 1765, that Capt. Thomas Sterling arrived with a detachment of the 'Black Watch' Regiment. On the next day, the French flag disappeared forever from Fort Chartres, which was the last place on the continent of North America to float that flag. Louis de St. Ange withdrew on October 23rd, 1765, with his troops to St. Louis."

From the Sieurs de St. Ange, by Walter B. Douglas, page 144, in Publication No. 14, Illinois State Historical Library.

[9] "The secret treaty which had transferred the west bank of the river, known until 1796 as the western part of the Illinois, from France to Spain, had been made known in October, 1764, but it was the duty of France, and so recognized by the French Government, to govern the country in the customary way, until Spain came to take possession. And the jurisdiction which St. Ange had possessed over that territory was unimpaired by the transfer of the east bank to the British. Hence St. Ange came to St. Louis and assumed full authority as French Commandant, made grants of land, and exercised the functions of Governor from April 27, 1766 to May 20, 1770."

From the Sieurs de St. Ange, by Walter B. Douglas, page 144.

For this purpose, he called the inhabitants together, and told them that although Mr. Laclede had given them the *possession,* he had not given them *titles* to their lots, and that in order to obviate the disputes that might arise, they must report to him their boundaries, and he would make them *concessions,* by which they would be invested with the right. He accordingly made the *Livre Terrien,* or land book, in which the grants of lots and lands were, not *recorded,* but originally written, and copies of these grants were made out for the grantees. The people did not consider these concessions as incomplete or inchoate grants, which were to be ratified by some authority higher than that which made them; but as perfect grants, vesting in them the entire *allodium,* independent of any condition, save that of being subject to taxation,[10] and of being improved by the grantee within a limited time. In fact, the words of the concession, show this to have been the meaning on the part of the granting party. The mode of obtaining grants, was by petition or *requête.* After referring to the petition, as to its date, the request it contained, the party making it, the concession generally ran thus: "On the day and year aforesaid, at the request of ———, we have granted,

[10] Primm is in error in stating that land was subject to taxation. Stoddard lists the kinds of taxes imposed in the Province of Louisiana and makes no mention of a land tax, but later on explicitly states that there was none. On page 311 of his Sketches of Louisiana he says: "Indeed, few of the French and part of the English-Americans only, were at first reconciled to the change, though they never manifested any discontent. The former seemed to feel as if they had been sold in open market, and by this means degraded. The latter anticipated taxation; many of whom had abandoned their native country to avoid it, and voluntarily become the subjects of a government careful not to impose any burthens on the agricultural part of the community."

Thwaites in his "Daniel Boone," page 227, expresses the same thought: "Neither did men of the Boone type who had become Spanish subjects in order to avoid the crowds, to get and to keep cheap lands, to avoid taxes, to hunt big game and to live a simple Arcadian life—at all enjoy this sudden crossing of the Mississippi River caused by the change of governments."

and do grant to him, his heirs, and assigns, the lot (or piece of land, describing its contents, boundaries, and locality), which he prays for, with the condition that he shall establish it within a year and a day, and that it shall be subject to the public charges."

"ST. ANGE."

Nearly the same form of concession was made use of under the Spanish authority. There was generally, however, a stipulation contained in them, that in case the conditions of improvements and cultivation, should not be complied with, the land should revert to the king. And many instances are found in the *Livre Terrien*, where this resumption has taken place.

Commerce was the first object which the French government had in view in forming establishments in Upper Louisiana, but agriculture became necessary for their support; and subsequently, the populating and improving a large tract of country, became an object of paramount importance. These objects could not be effected without presenting advantages which might induce adventurers to come and settle in the country. Accordingly, the government adopted the plan of making gratuitous grants of land[11] to actual settlers and cultivators. This was the plan upon which the first commandant, St. Ange, acted, and is the same pursued afterwards by Spain.

In the incipient stages of the two governments in Upper Louisiana, grants of land were proportioned to the means of the applicant, and always under the express condition of inhabitation or improvement; but towards their close, grants were made to all who chose to apply for them, without condition, to any extent, and

[11] "Land was generally held of so little value by the French and the Spaniards, that it was scarcely thought worth while to accept or to pay fees for writing the concession or *requête*. It was only in rare instances that such a concession was denied, but in no instance was a settlement allowed on the crown lands without permission of the Post-Commandant."

From Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, page 225.

of course, without regard to the means of the applicant.

The policy of the government in making gifts of land was to settle the country. Pursued with a proper spirit, it was certainly well calculated to effect that object; but it seems, at last, to have degenerated into a system of favoritism, tending to enrich a few individuals, at the expense of the royal treasury. The remoteness of the Lieutenant Governors from the seat of the general government, and the extent of the authority placed in their hands, perhaps enabled them to disregard the checks which had been placed around them. Certain it is, that until the administration of Mr. Trudeau, the means of the cultivator were taken as the criterion by which the magnitude of a grant was to be regulated. Indeed, until that time, no surveyor[12] was appointed for the province, which may account for the small number, and small size of the grants. The difficulty of locating a large tract of land, and settling its boundaries, may have deterred the inhabitants from applying for, and the Lieutenant Governor from granting them, and thus exceeding his authority. But these

[12] Prior to the appointment of the Surveyor General, as hereafter mentioned, our first official surveyor was "Martin Milony Duralde, born in Biscaya, Spain, son of Pierre Duralde and Marie di Elizaga, who came here with Piernas. He was a well educated gentleman of good family and abilities and raised to business. On October 9th, 1770, Gov. Don Pedro Piernas officially appointed him 'Surveyor of this colony of Illinois and the dependencies of his Catholic Majesty' in response to a Petition of the inhabitants of St. Louis (on file in the United States Recorder's Office) dated October 7, 1770, 'praying that since the establishment of this Post there has been no survey, may it please your Excellency to appoint some one to make a survey as soon as convenient.'"

He married here in 1776, Marie Josepha Perrault, born in Quebec, daughter of Louis Perrault, merchant of that place, and wife Josepha Baby, deceased. Duralde remained but a few years in the place, returning to New Orleans, where his wife's connections resided.

From Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days, by Billon, page 447 (with corrections).

His daughter Clarice became the wife of Governor Claiborne of Louisiana.

obstacles, if they were such, were removed in 1795, by the appointment of a Surveyor General,[13] whose duty it was to mark off, by metes and bounds, such lands as should be granted by the Lieutenant Governor. From this time, that office became a kind of mint for the manufacture of concessions. It is said, that a short time before the change of government from Spanish to American, grants were made out by the ream. This statement, though hyperbolical, is supported to some extent, by the fact, that until the appointment of Soulard as Surveyor General, the number of arpens of land granted did not exceed 50,000; and that from the date of his appointment, the number of arpens granted amounted to 2,150,969.

Concessions of the most valuable tracts of land, were thus made in a negligent manner, their boundaries not being defined with accuracy; and even now cover the face of the country, conflicting with each other, to the great perplexity of the courts of law, to the injury of the concessionaries themselves, and by retarding the march of improvement, to the disadvantage of the State. Many laws have been passed by Congress, for the purpose of settling these claims, but they have been ineffectual, or only partially beneficial. But as the powers of the Lieutenant Governors, and the principles upon which they acted, are now better understood, it is presumed that some plan will be

[13] This Surveyor General was "Antoine Pierre Soulard, son of Henry François Soulard and Marie Françoise Leroux, born in Rochefort, province of Aunis, France, in the year 1766. His father had been a Lieutenant in the French Navy, and he himself had adopted the same profession, and had attained the grade of sub-lieutenant when he left the French service and came to the United States in 1794, coming out to St. Louis the same year, where he received the appointment, February 3, 1795, of "King's Surveyor" for Upper Louisiana, which office he held until the transfer to the United States in 1804. Mr. Soulard was married on November 16, 1795, to Miss Marie Julie Cerré, the youngest daughter of Gabriel Cerré, merchant of St. Louis. He died November 9, 1825, aged fifty-nine years, and Mrs. Soulard, May 9, 1845, in her seventieth year."

From Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days, by Billon, page 471.

adopted to secure the claimants in their rights, or to throw these lands open to the enterprise and industry of our citizens, by exposing them to sale.

Under the administration of St. Ange, St. Louis assumed more definitely the appearance of a town. The soldiers had, by degrees, become amalgamated with the inhabitants; comfortable dwellings were erected; and small fields in the neighborhood, now called *common fields,* had been opened and improved. The government was in a manner patriarchal; the whole community seemed to compose one family, under the guidance of a common father, and enjoying a common patrimony. Perhaps a sense of their weak, and somewhat perilous situation, tended to bring into existence and strengthen the bonds of amity and good feeling, and to maintain that order, harmony, and subordination, which it is so difficult to maintain in infant colonies.

On the 11th of August, 1768, three years after St. Ange established himself at St. Louis, Mr. Rious[14] arrived with Spanish troops, and took possession of Upper Louisiana, in the name of his Catholic Majesty; but did not exercise any jurisdiction over the country, as appears from the fact that St. Ange continued to perform official acts until the beginning of 1770. (*Livre Terrien.*) From this it is to be inferred that the powers of Mr. Rious were limited to the bare taking possession of the country, and that no jurisdiction

[14] "On September 9, 1767, Captain Francis Rios (Capt. Don Francisco Rui) of the Spanish service, arrived with a Company of some 25 men sent up from New Orleans by Count Ulloa to receive possession of and establish the Spanish authority on the west side of this Upper Region of the Mississippi. He established a fort called 'Fort Prince Charles' on what was afterwards the site of Fort Bellefontaine, almost completing it before the close of the year 1768. In July, 1769, Captain Rios (Rui) with his men abandoned the unfinished fort and sailed for New Orleans."

From Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days, pages 52 and 64.

See also "Instructions, D'Ulloa to Rui, 1767." In Missouri Historical Society Collections, Volume III, No. 2, pages 145 to 169, inclusive.

was to be exercised by him, until the dissatisfaction against the transfer had been worn away, and the inhabitants become reconciled to their new master. Their habits, manners, and customs, which they retained under the new government, and long after its extinction, being entirely French, they would naturally be averse to the change; and their remoteness from the source of power, imperatively required delicacy and prudence in such measure as might be adopted towards them.

The arrival of Count O'Reilly[15] at New Orleans, and the revolution that consequently occurred there, caused the evacuation of Upper Louisiana by the Spanish troops, and their departure for New Orleans in July, 1769. The transfer having been completely effected, a new government organized, and a new code of laws established by Count O'Reilly, he directed his attention to the province of Upper Louisiana, of which he ap-

[15] "Alexander O'Reilly, a native of Ireland, born about 1735, sent to Spain when very young; joined the Hiberni regiment; served in Italy and received a wound which lamed him for life; in 1757, by permission, served in the Austrian Army under Field Marshal De Lacy, his countryman, in two campaigns against the Prussians; as a volunteer served in the armies of France under Marshal Duc de Broglie; was made Lieutenant-Colonel in the Spanish service; served against the Portuguese; attained the rank of Brigadier General; taught the Spanish troops German maneuvers and tactics; in 1762 was raised to the rank of Major-General and sent to Havana as second in command; restored the fortifications of Havana; made Inspector-General of the King's Infantry; in 1765 by his cool intrepidity saved the King's life in the famous Madrid Insurrection, which forced the Sovereign to fly to Aranjuez; was made a Count; decorated with many military orders; in 1769 made Captain General of Louisiana (and with 2600 choice troops of Spain, in 24 ships, arrived in New Orleans on August the 18th. After establishing the Spanish authority in the country and organizing the new government, he sailed for Spain, October 29, 1770); in 1774 in command of a great expedition against Algiers which resulted unfortunately; afterward appointed Commander-General of Andalusia and Cadiz; fell in disfavor and retired to Catalonia in 1794, however, was appointed to the command of the Army of the East Pyrenees, to oppose the French, and died suddenly at an advanced age. His descendants resided in the Island of Cuba at one time and a street in Havana is named in his honor."

Houck's *History of Missouri*, Volume I, page 301.

pointed Pedro Piernas Lieutenant Governor.[16] This officer, under the Spanish government, was invested with extensive powers: he was military and civil commandant of the whole province over which he was delegated, having authority in whatever concerned the administration of justice, or the defence of the country; he appointed commandants of posts and towns within his jurisdiction, their acts being subject to his approval, and themselves removable at his pleasure; he had the power of making grants of lands, which grants, or *concessions,* as they were called, were to be confirmed by the governor general; and with the exception that his act could be revised and he removed by the power that appointed him, he was invested with despotic sway.

On the 29th of November, 1770, Mr. Piernas arrived at St. Louis, with a body of troops, and took possession of Upper Louisiana again; but he did not begin to exercise his functions as Lieutenant Governor, until the month of February following. (*Livre Terrien.*) The inhabitants soon became reconciled to the new domin-

[16] "Don Pedro Joseph Piernas was a Spaniard by birth, came to New Orleans with Ulloa, a captain in the Spanish service, married Félicité Robineau de Portneuf at New Orleans, who was the sole heiress of Louis Nicolas Robineau de Portneuf, and also heiress of half the estate of Madame Marguérite Philippe D'Aneau de Muid, widow of René Robineau, Lord of Portneuf. She was born at Fort de Chartres, September 25, 1745. Ulloa in a letter to Marquis de Grimaldi says that he was very popular with the troops under him on account 'of his methods, joviality and good treatment' they received from him; and that at Natchez he succeeded with the fort and settlement although he had less than one-half the people that were in Misuri." (Shortly after the occupation of New Orleans by Don Alexander O'Reilly, the Spanish Commandant of Louisiana, with his troops, he dispatched Piernas with a body of Spanish troops to take possession of Upper Louisiana. Piernas was Lieutenant-Governor from May 20, 1770 to May 19, 1775.) In 1785 he was Colonel of the Louisiana Regiment of New Orleans, succeeding Governor Estevan Miro. Piernas held command in New Orleans while Galvez was absent on his expedition to conquer the British possessions on the Mississippi. He was in the Spanish service thirty years, and his father before him served forty-eight years."

From Houck's *History of Missouri,* Volume II, page 22.

ion, for Spain adopted the prudent plan of tempering the mandates of government with parental mildness. Such measures, indeed, were necessary towards men who were placed on the verge of civilization, and with whom, harshness would have had no beneficial effect. It resulted in a firm attachment to the government, which displayed itself in their regret and dissatisfaction at the retrocession to France, in 1800.

The liberality observed in the policy of granting land gratuitously to settlers, adopted by the French, and pursued by the Spanish, attracted considerable numbers of emigrants, particularly from Canada, and the advantages of the fur trade, drew many from the lower to the upper province of Louisiana. The population thus acquired soon formed settlements in different parts. As early as 1767 Mr. Delore de Tregette founded *Vide Poche,* which in 1796 took the name of Carondelet, in honor of Baron de Carondelet, who was then Governor General of Louisiana. *Florissant* was founded by Mr. Borozier Dunégant, in 1769, and in 1796 was called St. Ferdinand, in honor of the king of Spain; and *Les Petites Cotes,* called *St. Charles,* in 1804, was established by Blanchette Chasseur, in 1769.

Mr. Piernas was succeeded by Francisco Cruzat in 1775, and the latter, by Fernando de Leyba, in July, 1778.

Until the present time, although danger had been apprehended from the Indians, yet no injury had been experienced from them. The territory on which St. Louis stood, that on which several other towns had been located, and the surrounding country, were claimed by the Illinois Indians (*Dep. of A. Chouteau*); but they had acquiesced in the intrusion of the whites, and had never disturbed them in the enjoyment of the land. A rumor, however, was now spread abroad, that an attack would shortly be made upon the town by the Canadians, and such Indians as were friendly to the English. The town was almost destitute of works of defense, but the inhabitants, amounting to little more

than a hundred *men,* immediately proceeded to inclose it with a species of wall, formed of the trunks of small trees, planted in the ground, the interstices being filled up with earth. The wall was some five or six feet high. It started from the *half moon,* a kind of fort in that form, situated on the river, near the present *upper ferry landing,* and ran from thence a little above the brow of the hill, in a semicircle, until it reached the Mississippi, somewhat above the bridge.[17] Three gates were formed in it, one near the bridge, and two others on the hill, at the points where the roads from the north-western and south-western parts of the common field came in. At each of these gates was placed a piece of heavy ordnance, kept continually charged, and in good order. Having completed this work, and hearing no more of the Indians, it was supposed that the attack had been abandoned. Winter passed away and spring came; still nothing was heard of the Indians. The inhabitants were led to believe that their apprehensions were groundless, from the representations of the Commandant Leyba, who did every thing in his power to dissipate their anxiety, assuring them that there was no danger, and that the rumor of the proposed attack was false. The month of May came, the labors of planting were over, and the peaceful and happy villagers gave themselves up to such pursuits and pleasures as suited their taste. An observer of the beautiful and quiet scene which this country then presented would never have deemed that the angry passions of men were at work to mar it.

A few days before the attack an old man named

[17] The bridge referred to was the one over the Petite Riviere at Second Street. It is thus spoken of by Brackenridge in his Recollections of Persons and Places in the West, Second Edition, page 227:

"After crossing *a stone bridge in a dilapidated condition,* I approached a long and straggling suburb, each side of the road, for it could scarcely be called a street, with some tolerable gardens and orchards."

Kenelle,[18] a resident of St. Louis, had gone over to the mouth of Kahokia creek to catch fish. While watching his lines on the south bank of the creek he heard a slight noise on the opposite side. Looking up, he beheld an acquaintance who had formerly resided in St. Louis, but who had absconded from thence on account of some crime which he had committed. His name was Ducharme,[19] and he was afterwards ascertained to be one of the leaders of the attack upon the town. His strange and sudden appearance, the circumstances under which he had left St. Louis, and the rumor of the meditated attack—all these combined, induced Kenelle to refuse to cross the creek, at the invitation of Ducharme. He was confirmed in his refusal by perceiving, a few moments after, the eyes of several Indians glaring upon him from the bushes in which they were concealed. "Come over," said Ducharme, "I have something very particular to tell you." "No," said Kenelle, "your request is not intended for my benefit, or the gratification of your friendly feelings. Though I am old and bald, yet I value my scalp too highly to trust myself with you." So saying, he embarked in his canoe, and crossing over to St. Louis, informed the commandant of what he had seen. The people became alarmed, but the commandant, calling his informant an old dotard, ordered him to be put in prison. This proceeding had the effect of again calming their minds and banishing apprehension.

In the meantime, numerous bands of the Indians living on the lakes and the Mississippi—the Ojibeways, Menomonies, Winnebagoes, Sioux, Sac, etc., together

[18] This was Raymond Quesnel, who was born in Montreal in 1719 and was married at that place in 1747 to Marie Anne Boulay. Houck states in his *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, page 53, that the records of the burials show that he was interred in St. Louis in 1780

[19] The full name of this trader and interpreter was Jean Marie Ducharme. "He was a native of Lachine; died at Sault St. Louis in 1791, eighty-five years old."

From Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, page 35.

with a large number of Canadians, amounting, in all, to upwards of fourteen hundred, had assembled on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, a little above St. Louis, awaiting the 6th of May, the day fixed for the attack. The 5th of May[20] was the feast of *Corpus Christi,* a day highly venerated by the inhabitants, who were all Catholics. Had the assault taken place then, it would have been fatal to them; for, after divine service, all, men, women, and children, had flocked to the prairie to gather strawberries, which were that season very abundant and fine. The town, being left perfectly unguarded, could have been taken with ease, and the unsuspecting inhabitants, who were roaming about in search of fruit, have been massacred without resistance. Fortunately, however, a few only of the enemy had crossed the river and ambushed themselves in the prairie. The villagers frequently came so near

[20] The feast of Corpus Christi did not fall on the 5th of May in 1780, according to the "Handy Book of Rules and Tables for Verifying dates with the Christian Era. By John J. Bond, London, 1889." Under movable feasts governed by Easter Day, on page 145, Easter fell on March 26th that year; hence Corpus Christi was kept on Thursday, May 25th, 1780. This error, of course, makes May the 6th the wrong date for "L'année du Coup." Both of these errors Primm corrected in his "Oration," in 1847 (page 10). His authority for both of these incorrect dates was Chouteau's Journal. According to his son Gabriel S. Chouteau, Colonel Auguste Chouteau had kept a journal for twenty years which contained a full account of the leading events of our early history. It was replete with important information. It was loaned to Jean N. Nicollet, and was destroyed by fire while in his possession. It was the source of most of the information contained in this "History of St. Louis," by Wilson Primm, and the "Sketch of the Early History of St. Louis," on pages 75 to 92, inclusive, of Nicollet's Report contained in House Document No. 52—28th Congress, Second Session.

(Also printed as Senate Document 237, same paging.) Primm says that he had access to Colonel Chouteau's papers and the proof that both he and Nicollet used this Journal, lies in their repeating his error in the date as evidenced in the quotation below from page 81 of Nicollet's "Sketch of the Early History of St. Louis:"

"In 1780, on the *6th of May,* as I discover by the papers of the late Colonel Auguste Chouteau, entrusted to me by the family, St. Louis was attacked by a party of Indians and British."

them in the course of the day, that the Indians, from their places of concealment, could have reached them with their hands. But they knew not how many of the whites were still remaining in the town, and in the absence of their coadjutors, feared to attack, lest their pre-concerted plan might be defeated.[21]

On the 6th, the main body of the Indians crossed, and marched directly towards the fields, expecting to find the greater part of the villagers there; but in this they were disappointed, a few only having gone out to view their crops. These perceived the approach of the savage foe, and immediately commenced a retreat towards the town, the most of them taking the road that led to the upper gate, nearly through the mass of Indians, and followed by a shower of bullets. The firing alarmed those who were in town, and the cry "to arms! to arms!" was heard in every direction. They rushed towards the works and threw open the gates to their brethren. The Indians advanced slowly, but steadily, towards the town, and the inhabitants, though almost deprived of hope, by the vast superiority in number of the assailants, determined to defend themselves to the last.

In expectation of an attack, Silvio Francisco Cartabona,[22] a governmental officer, had gone to Ste. Gene-

[21] For the inside History of *L'année du Coup*" see: "Documents relating to the attack upon St. Louis in 1780." in Missouri Historical Society Collections, Volume II, No. 6, pages 41 to 54, inclusive. See also Report of Attack on St. Louis, May 26, 1780, made by Martin Navarro, Intendant of the Province of Louisiana to his Excellency Senor Don Joseph de Galvez, dated August 18, 1780, in Houck's *Spanish Regime*, Vol. I, page 167.

[22] No credence is to be given to this statement regarding Cartabona; it is merely an evidence of the smouldering hate which the French bore the Spanish. Cartabona was a Spanish soldier, trained in the art of Indian warfare, belonging to a nation of fighters which in that day were masters of the art of war. The fact is that Cartabona was a wily enough warrior not to permit the Indians to draw him out into their ambuscade; they appear to have followed the usual Indian custom in this attack of making a sudden onslaught upon the town and then a speedy flight to draw out its defenders from the security of their shelter. This they failed to

vieve for a company of militia to aid in defending the town, in case of necessity, and had, at the beginning of the month returned with sixty men, who were quartered on the citizens. As soon as the attack commenced, however, neither Cartabona nor his men could be seen. Either through fear or treachery, they concealed themselves in a garret, and there remained until the Indians had retired. The assailed, being deprived of a considerable force by this shameful defection, were still resolute and determined. About fifteen men were posted at each gate; the rest were scattered along the line of defense, in the most advantageous manner.

When within a proper distance, the Indians began an irregular fire, which was answered with showers of

do and probably to the good judgment of Cartabona more than to the hysterical shooting of the French traders, was due the saving of St. Louis from utter destruction. That not only Cartabona and his men but the inhabitants of St. Louis as well, did their full duty on that day, there is official evidence, as the following from Houck's *History of Missouri*, Volume I, page 307, shows:

"In a letter addressed to Cartabona, Governor-General Galvez thanks the inhabitants of St. Louis for their zeal and activity in defending the town from the English attack, and says that he will inform the Government of this example worthy of emulation in all the colony." Cartabona was especially authorized in the name of the Sovereign to abundantly thank the special Lieutenant, Don Francesco Vallé, and Messieurs Picote de Belestre, Don Benito Vasquez and other inhabitants, 'in general and particular,' for the valor and noble intrepidity with which they have been enabled to restrain the impetuous pride of the enemy in the midst of greatest want."

Tradition does a cruel wrong to Cartabona in relating that he and his men concealed themselves in a garret during this attack. The official report made by Martin Navarro, Intendant of the Province to Senor Don Joseph de Galvez, dated August 18th, 1780, (Houck's *Spanish Regime*, Volume I, page 168) states that "The women and children had been shut up in the house of the Commandant defended by twenty men under the Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Francisco Cartabona."

That Cartabona's conduct on this occasion was considered by the King worthy of reward, and that it was rewarded, see letter of Senor Don Joseph de Galvez (Houck's *Spanish Regime*, Volume I, page 169), stating that the King had conferred the rank of Captain on Cartabona, as a reward for his defense of St. Louis.

grape shot from the artillery. The firing, for a while, was warm; but the Indians, perceiving that all their efforts would be ineffectual, on account of the intrenchments, and deterred by the cannon, to which they were unaccustomed, from making a nearer approach, suffered their zeal to abate, and deliberately retired. At this stage of affairs the Lieutenant Governor made his appearance. The first intimation that he received of what was going on, was by the discharge of artillery, on the part of the inhabitants. He immediately ordered several pieces of cannon, which were posted in front of the government house, to be spiked and filled with sand, and went, or rather was rolled in a wheelbarrow, to the scene of action. In a very peremptory tone, he commanded the inhabitants to cease firing and return to their houses. Those posted at the lower gate did not receive the order and consequently kept their stations. The commandant perceived this and ordered a cannon to be fired at them. They had barely time to throw themselves on the ground, when the volley passed over them, and struck the wall, tearing a great part of it down. These proceedings, as well as the whole tenor of his conduct, since the first rumor of an attack, gave rise to suspicions very unfavorable to the Lieutenant Governor. It was bruited about, that he was the cause of the attack, that he was connected with the British, and that he had been bribed into a dereliction of duty, which, had not Providence averted, would have doomed them to destruction. Under the pretext of proving to them that there was no danger of an attack, he had, a few days before it occurred, sold to the traders all the ammunition belonging to the government; and they would have been left perfectly destitute and defenseless, had they not found in a private house, eight barrels of powder, belonging to a trader, which they seized in the name of the King, upon the first alarm. General George Rogers Clark, who was at this time at Kaskaskia, with a few men under his command, understanding that an attack was meditated on the town, offered all the assistance in his power, to

aid in the defense. This offer was rejected by the Lieutenant Governor. All these circumstances gave birth to a strong aversion to the commandant, which evinces itself, even at this day, in execrations of his character, whenever his name is mentioned to those who have known him.[24] Representations of his conduct, together

[24] Fernando de Leyba was a native of Barcelona, Spain, and was a Captain in the Stationary Regiment of Louisiana (he was Spanish Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis from January 1, 1779, until the latter part of June, 1780), in September, 1779, his wife died and was buried in the church in front of the right hand balustrade, and on June 28, 1780, Don Fernando de Leyba was buried by her side in the same church.

He was not popular with the people of the village. He was said to have been devoid of tact and discretion, rabidly penurious and intemperate. It may be that De Leyba strictly enforced the Spanish trade regulations and tariff, which Cruzat quietly ignored, and that this may have been the cause of his alleged unpopularity. Naturally the traders who were illegally bringing English goods into the Spanish possessions would feel aggrieved, in a case of this kind. It is admitted that on his arrival at St. Louis De Leyba immediately sought to make provision for the protection of the village. Anticipating this attack, he fortified St. Louis as far as its open situation permitted; he built a wooden tower at the expense of the people, at one end of the town, and in addition threw up two lines of entrenchments. When the attack was made, on May 26, 1780, he successfully repelled the enemy. When the official report of this defense reached Madrid, the King was greatly pleased. His Majesty conferred the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel upon De Leyba, and that of Captain upon De Cartabona, second in command, as a reward." (See letters relating to this royal commission, page 169-170, Volume I, of Houck's *Spanish Regime.*) De Leyba died June 28, 1780, before he was advised of his promotion. By hearsay, in every respect, the memory of De Leyba has been covered with obloquy, but the Archives show that he was a man of clear intelligence, business knowledge and sound judgment. His insight into principles of law and his impartiality in the administration of justice are unmistakable evidence of high qualities."

Houck's *History of Missouri,* Volumes I, page 307, and II, pages 24, 32, 41.

De Leyba's conduct on the occasion of this attack has been ably defended by Billon in his "Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days, page 177 to 190, inclusive, and 194, 195 and 196; but this defense is based entirely upon the case of Gratiot vs. Sanguinet, decided by him on May 26, 1780, and upon no other evidence.

Scharf also has a defense of De Leyba, based upon the same evidence (page 226), purporting to be by Professor Waterhouse, but in reality by Billon.

with a detailed account of the attack, were sent to New Orleans by a special messenger, and the result was, that the Governor General appointed Mr. Francisco Cruzat, to the office of Lieutenant Governor.

As soon as it was ascertained that the Indians had retired from the neighborhood, the inhabitants proceeded to gather the dead, that lay scattered in all parts of the prairie. Seven were at first found, and buried in one grave. Ten or twelve others, in the course of a fortnight, were discovered in the long grass that bordered the marshes. The acts of the Indians were accompanied by their characteristic ferocity. Some of their victims were horribly mangled. With the exception of one individual, the whites who accompanied the Indians did not take part in the butcheries that were committed. A young man named *Calvé,* was found dead, his skull split open, and a tomahawk, on the blade of which was written the word Calvé sticking in his brain. He was supposed to have fallen by the hand of his uncle. Had those who discovered the Indians in the prairie, fled to the lower gate, they would have escaped; but the greater part of them took the road that led to the upper gate, through the very ranks of the enemy, and were thus exposed to the whole of their fire. About twenty persons, it is computed, met their death in endeavoring to get within the intrenchments. None of those within them were injured, and none of the Indians were killed, at least, none of them were found. Their object was not plunder, for they did not attempt, in their retreat, to take with them any of the cattle or horses that were in the prairie, and that they might have taken; nor did they attack any of the neighboring towns, where danger would have been less, and the prospect of success greater. The only object they had in view, was the destruction of St. Louis; and this would seem to favor the idea that they were instigated by the English, and give good ground, when connected with other circumstances, to believe that Leyba was their aider and abettor. There are many anecdotes of this war, which

tradition has preserved, and it may not be uninteresting to record a few of them.

A Mr. Chancellier had gone, on the day of the attack, to the prairie, for strawberries, with his wife, two daughters, and an *American,* the first that had ever been in the country, in a cart drawn by two horses. When they perceived the Indians, they immediately fled towards the town in the cart; Mr. Chancellier being seated before, and the American behind, in order to protect the women who were in the middle. In their flight, the American was mortally wounded. As he was about falling out, Mr. Chancellier seized him and threw him in the midst of the women, exclaiming, "they shan't get the scalp of my American."[25] He was at the same time struck by two balls, which broke his arm in as many places, above the elbow; his wife received a bullet through the middle of her hand, the elder daughter was shot through the shoulder, immediately above the breast, and the younger was struck on the forehead, but the ball glanced aside and merely stunned her. The moment Mr. Chancellier arrived at the gate, his horses dropped dead, pierced with a hundred wounds—but his family was saved.

Mr. Belhomme,[26] in attempting to escape from the

[25] Primm calls him "The First American." This was a man by the name of *Kennedy.*

[26] This was "François Hébert *dit* Belhomme, son of Ignace Hébert and Hélène Danis, originally from Fort Chartres. François Hébert *dit* Belhomme was born at Fort Chartres in 1750. He married in St. Louis on February 4, 1774, the daughter of Julien Le Roy, aged about fifteen. He lived at the time of his death in a house built by his uncle, Joseph Hébert, on the Southeast quarter of Block Number Thirty Nine, on the Northwest Corner of Main and Poplar, which he had purchased from this uncle. He was killed on a piece of land of eighty arpents he held in the Grand Prairie, about four miles west of the Court House, survey Number 1287, now a part of Forest Park, near the northeast corner. He was just thirty years of age, and, like Cardinal, was buried where found on his land. His widow, Madeline Roy, was married to her second husband, Jean B. Truteau (the village school master) on May 1st, 1781, one year after Hébert's death."

From Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days, by F. L. Billon, page 200.

woods, where he had been hunting, into the town, had his thigh broken by a ball from an Indian. He managed to crawl to the great bend of the pond opposite the mill, and in the evening, when the Indians had disappeared, he began calling out for help. Finding this unavailing, he fired his gun, and continued firing until all his ammunition was expended. The people in the town heard the gun, but afraid that the Indians were still lurking about, they dared not obey the signal of distress. The unfortunate man was found dead a few days after, having perished from loss of blood and hunger.

Mr. Julien Roy, being pursued by an Indian, who wished to take him prisoner, and finding that his enemy gained on him at every step, finally determined to give him battle. He turned around, and taking deliberate aim, fired full at the savage's head. The Indian's jaw was shattered, and he fell. Mr. Roy ran up to him, and tearing his shirt, bound up the wound. The Indian was grateful, and guarded him through the ranks of his brethren to the town.

Many occurrences of like nature might be mentioned, tending to show that the ancient inhabitants of St. Louis descended from the French, had, with the amenity and gayety of disposition, and courteousness of demeanor, which characterize them to this day, inherited a valor that was at the same time bold and magnanimous.

Thus ended an attack, which, properly conducted, might have been destructive to the infant town, and which, from the number of the enemy and the danger incurred, was calculated to impress itself deeply upon the minds of those who witnessed it. It forms an era in the history of the place; and the year in which it occurred, has ever since been designated by the inhabitants, as *the year of the great blow.* "L'année du grand coup."

The Lieutenant Governor, aware of the representations against himself, and unable to bear the scorn and

contempt which the inhabitants manifested towards him, died a few days after the attack, suspected by many of suicide by poison.

Mr. Cartabona, upon the death of Leyba, assumed and kept the command until the arrival of Mr. Cruzat,[27] which was in the year following. During the administration of the latter, in the month of April, 1785, was witnessed the unparalleled rise of the river Mississippi, which also forms an era with the ancient inhabitants, and is called, the *year of the great waters.* "L'année des grandes Eaux." The Mississippi rose thirty feet above the highest water mark known; the town of Kaskaskia was nearly swept away; the low lands on the eastern shore of the river, as far back as the bluff, were so completely overflowed, that men went through the woods to Kaskaskia in boats. Very little inconvenience, however, was felt; for the bottoms being thinly settled, the rise caused but little destruction of property.

Under this administration, too, were begun those fortifications, which, until a few years past, were in existence along the brow of the hill. They consisted of a square building, called the *bastion,* situated at the northern extremity of the hill, nearly opposite the *half moon;* of a circular fort, directly south of the bastion, and situated on what is now called *Olive* street; of another circular building, which served both for a fort and prison, south of that last mentioned, and situated on *Walnut* street; of a circular fort, in a line with and south of the others, situated at the extremity of the hill, near what is called *Mill Creek;* and, finally, of another circular fort, east of the latter, and somewhat above the bridge near the river. All of these

[27] "After the death of De Leyba, Governor-General de Galvez, reappointed Colonel Francisco Cruzat, who had made himself very popular with the people of St. Louis in his first administration (May 20th, 1775, to June 17th, 1778) Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, he held this office from September 24, 1780 to November 27, 1787."

From Annals of St. Louis in Its Early Days, by Billon, page 207.

fortifications were provided with ammunition and soldiers were kept constantly on guard in them. The forts, besides, were connected together by a strong wall, made of cedar posts, planted upright in the ground, fitted closely together, and with loop holes for small arms between every two. These precautionary defences had been dictated by the danger which had been incurred, and which was fresh in the recollection of all, and probably had the effect of preventing any further assaults upon the place. The inhabitants were never after molested.

Up to this time, communication with New Orleans was rare and difficult. The only mode of procuring merchandise for the fur trade, and supplies for the town was by means of keel boats, which started early in the spring and returned late in the fall. As many preparations were made for a trip to *the City,* as New Orleans was called, *par excellence,* as now would be made for a voyage to the East Indies. Now, we have steam boats, which waft us down ten miles an hour, and bear us back at the rate of seven. *Then,* the oar of the *voyageur* alone, moved the tardy bark against the rapid current, except, occasionally, when the southern breeze would spring up, and filling the sail, permit him to rest from his toil. Besides these natural difficulties, communication with New Orleans was at this time rendered dangerous, from the circumstances that a numerous band of robbers, under the guidance of two men, named Culbert and Magilbray, had located themselves at a place called *Cotton-wood Creek,* "La riviere aux Liards," and began a system of depredation which was highly alarming and detrimental to those who navigated the Mississippi. As communication between the two ports could be effected but once a year, the boats were generally richly laden, so that the plunder of them was wealth to the plunderers, and ruin to the owners. The gay song of the voyageur, as he kept time with the stroke of his oar, was the signal for the robbers to rush from their retreat. Armed at all points

they seized upon the vessels, and compelled the astonished and terrified crews to run them to the shore. There they would divest them of all that was valuable, and then leave them at liberty, either to continue their route, or return to their place of departure. This system of pillage was carried on with success; for it was rare that a boat passed these robbers unseen, and seldom did they see one which they did not pillage.

In the spring of 1787, a barge belonging to Mr. Beausoliel,[28] had started from New Orleans, richly laden with merchandise, for St. Louis. As she approached the Cotton-wood creek, a breeze sprung up and bore her swiftly by. This the robbers perceived, and immediately despatched a company of men up the river for the purpose of heading. The manoeuvre was effected in the course of two days, at an island, which has since been called Beausoliel's Island. The barge had just put ashore—the robbers boarded, and ordered the crew to return down. The men were disarmed, guards

[28] "Beausoliel" was the nick name of Eugène Pourée, one of the early settlers of St. Louis, a Captain of Militia at St. Louis, and a merchant and ship master conducting a business of carrier of goods on the Mississippi for many years. On January 10th, 1756, Eugène Pourée, Sergeant of the Company of Varenne, was married at Kaskaskia to Marie Josèphe Godeau, daughter of Sieur Michel Godeau, Surgeon employed by the King at Kaskaskia. Captain Pourée commanded the force consisting of sixty-six Spaniards and Frenchmen, and sixty Indians, which left St. Louis in January, 1781, marched 600 miles through the wilderness and captured the British Fort St. Joseph (in Michigan) bringing back the British flag. For his services in this expedition, Pourée received the rank of Lieutenant in the Army with half pay. The conquest of this fort was made the basis of a claim by Spain to all the territory along the Illinois river to Lake Michigan. He died in St. Louis, April 30, 1783, hence the date of this attack by the robbers, given above as 1787, is incorrect. This attack occurred March 19, 1782, and for the official report of it, see letter of Don Estevan Miro to Senor Don Bernado de Galvez dated May 4, 1782 in Houck's *Spanish Regime*, Volume I, page 213. For a sketch of him and account of his law suit with Chouteau over the storage and re-shipment of Chouteau's goods, due to a threatened attack by robbers, see "The Case of Pourée against Chouteau," by Walter B. Douglas, in Missouri Historical Society Collections, Volume II, No. 6, pages 68 to 81, inclusive.

were stationed in every part of the vessel, and she was soon under way. Mr. Beausoliel gave himself up to despair. He had spent all he possessed in the purchase of the barge and its cargo, and now that he was to be deprived of them all, he was in agony. This vessel would have shared the fate of many others that had preceded it, but for the heroic daring of a negro, who was one of the crew. Cacasotte, the negro, was a man rather under the ordinary height, very slender in person, but of uncommon strength and activity. The color of his skin and the curl of his hair alone told that he was a negro, for the peculiar characteristics of his race had given place in him to what might be termed beauty. His forehead was finely moulded, his eyes small and sparkling as those of a serpent, his nose aquiline, his lips of a proper thickness; in fact, the whole appearance of the man, joined to his known character for shrewdness and courage, seemed to indicate, that under better circumstances, he might have shone conspicuous in the history of nations. Cacasotte, as soon as the robbers had taken possession of the barge, began to make every demonstration of uncontrollable joy. He danced, sang, laughed, and soon induced his captors to believe that they had liberated him from irksome slavery, and that his actions were the ebullitions of pleasure. His constant attention to their smallest wants and wishes, too, won their confidence, and whilst they kept a watchful eye on the other prisoners, they permitted him to roam through the vessel unmolested and unwatched. This was the state of things that the negro desired: he seized the first opportunity to speak to Mr. Beausoliel, and beg permission to rid him of the dangerous intruders. He laid his plan before his master, who, after a great deal of hesitation, acceded to it. Cacasotte then spoke to two of the crew, likewise negroes, and engaged them in the conspiracy. Cacasotte was cook, and it was agreed between him and his fellow conspirators, that the signal for dinner should be the signal for action. The hour

of dinner at length arrived. The robbers assembled in considerable numbers on the deck, and stationed themselves at the bow and stern, and along the sides, to prevent any rising of the men. Cacasotte went among them with the most unconcerned look and demeanor imaginable. As soon as he perceived that his comrades had taken the stations he had assigned them, he took his position at the bow of the boat, near one of the robbers, a stout, herculean man, who was armed cap-a-pie. Every thing being arranged to his satisfaction, Cacasotte gave the preconcerted signal, and immediately the robber near him was struggling in the waters. With the speed of lightning, he went from one robber to another, and in less than three minutes he had thrown fourteen of them overboard. Then seizing an oar, he struck on the head those who attempted to save themselves by grappling the running boards, then shot with the muskets that had been dropped on deck, those who swam away. In the meantime, the other conspirators were not idle, but did almost as much execution as their leader. The deck was soon cleared, and the robbers that remained below were too few in number to offer any resistance.

Having got rid of his troublesome visitors, Mr. Beausoliel deemed it prudent to return to New Orleans. This he accordingly did, taking care when he arrived near the Cotton-wood creek, to keep the opposite side of the river. He reached New Orleans, and gave an account of his capture and liberation to the Governor, who thereupon issued an order that the boats bound for St. Louis in the following spring, should all go in company, to afford mutual assistance in case of necessity. Spring came, and ten keel boats, each provided with swivels, and their respective crews well armed, took their departure from New Orleans, determined, if possible, to destroy the nest of robbers. When they neared the Cotton-wood creek, the foremost boat perceived several men, near the mouth among the trees. The anchor was dropped, and she

waited until the other boats should come up. In a few moments, they appeared and a consultation was held, in which it was determined that a sufficient number of men should remain on board, whilst the others should proceed on shore to attack the robbers. The boats were rowed to shore in a line, and those appointed for that purpose, landed and began to search the island in quest of the robbers, but in vain. They had disappeared. Three or four flat boats were found in a bend of the creek, laden with all kinds of valuable merchandise—the fruits of their depredations. A long low hut was discovered—the dwelling of the robbers—in which were stored away numerous cases of guns, destined for the fur trade, ammunition and provisions of all kinds. The greater part of these things were put on board the boats, and restored to their respective owners at St. Louis.

This proceeding had the effect of dispersing the robbers, for they were never after heard of. The arrival of ten barges together at St. Louis, was an unusual spectacle, and the year 1788 has ever since been called the *year of the ten boats.*

(From the *Illinois Monthly Magazine,* April and May, 1832.)

UPPER LOUISIANA IN 1805.

Washington, Jan. 6th, 05.

Sir:

In answer to your letter of Dec. 18, I have to inform you that no land office being as yet opened in upper Louisiana, no one is permitted to settle on the public lands there, and that the military is specially charged with preventing it, but the country of Kaskaskias on the opposite side of the river is open to acquisition, yields to the other side in no single circumstance and is far superior in point of safety, accept my salutations and best wishes.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Mr. Lewis Waugh.

EZEKIEL WILLIAMS' ADVENTURES IN COLORADO.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.

The interest which inheres in all stories of adventure prompts the reprinting of the following letter of Ezekiel Williams.

It has an additional interest in the fact that it is perhaps the earliest account of life in what is now one of our most delightful American play grounds.

The first American to visit the country now Colorado was, it is generally believed, one James Pursley, or Pursell, who went westward from St. Louis in 1802, and who filled his pockets with golden nuggets which he afterwards threw away as useless.

Captain Zebulon Pike and his party were at the site of Colorado Springs and Pueblo in 1806.

Williams was the third American visitor to that country, unless we accept the story of Colonel Shaw, hereinafter quoted, as proving an earlier visit by Shaw himself or by a party of trappers who are unidentified.

The date of Williams' visit is beclouded with doubt. Though he gives dates with positiveness, and his story is consistent, and no reason seems to have existed for misstatement, and he was a man of good character, nevertheless it seems clear that his dates are not correct.

The witnesses relied upon to prove their incorrectness are, some of them, by no means so trustworthy as Williams himself.

Williams says that he went up the Missouri River in 1810; that he hunted on the upper river for two years, and in August, 1812, started south, and after a journey of forty or fifty days reached the Arkansas

River; that he spent two winters in that country, and started home in March following the second winter, and that he reached Boonslick on the first of September. This would be in the year 1814.

The first contradictory statement to be cited is that of David Coyner, who says that Williams went up the river in 1807 and returned after an absence of eighteen months. Coyner was a Virginian who lived for several years in Howard County, Missouri. He published, in 1847, a book called *The Lost Trappers;* the statements made in which were based, as he says, upon an old, musty, mutilated journal kept by Captain Williams, and other papers furnished by Workman and Colonel Cooper, giving an account of the expedition.

Coyner's book was for many years received as veritable history, but it is now generally recognized as being a lie with circumstance; the circumstance being sometimes true, though usually as false as the narrative. It remains to be considered, however, that Coyner lived in the neighborhood of Williams' home and knew many of his acquaintances and perhaps Williams himself. But his story shows him to have been a man who took no pains to verify his statements.

He says that Williams went up the Missouri in 1807, in command of the party who escorted the Mandan Chief, Shehaka, who had come down with Lewis and Clark, back to his home in what is now Montana; and that the party went overland. He also gives an account of how Shehaka was received by his people upon his return, the date of which he gives as July 1.

It is true that an unsuccessful attempt was made in 1807 to carry back Shehaka to his home, according to the promise made by Lewis and Clark, but the escort in that year was commanded by Ensign Nathaniel Pryor of the United States Army, and the journey was made by water.

Pryor's party was attacked by the Arikara Indians, and he returned to St. Louis bringing the chief with him.

In 1809, Shehaka reached his home in safety under the protection of an escort furnished by the Missouri Fur Company and commanded by Major Pierre Chouteau. This party also made the journey by water. Williams was most likely one of this company, though he is not mentioned by General James, who wrote an account of the voyage and gives the names of many of the Americans who were of the party.

The books of the Missouri Fur Company show that Williams was in the employ of that Company but do not show at what time. In a ledger kept in St. Louis by Governor Clark, who was a partner in the Company, there is a credit to Williams of $561, under date 18 January, 1814; but that is the date when it was entered in this ledger, it having been brought over from some other book, which is lost. There is still extant another book of the Fur Company which covers the expedition of 1812-13. This is in the handwriting of Manuel Lisa, and was kept at the trading post up the river. In this book there are two lists of the *engagés* of the Company including those who had wintered on the upper Missouri in 1811-12, and those who made the voyage in 1812. Williams' name appears in neither of these lists. The expedition of 1812 left St. Louis in May of that year, and stopped in the neighborhood of Omaha, where it built Fort Lisa. The book last mentioned records the sending out of parties to the various tribes, but the entry of greatest interest is that regarding the dispatch of a party in quest of the hunters who were on the river of the Spaniards and Arapahoes—the Arkansas. The date of this entry is 7 September, 1812, which seems to be the date upon which the party started upon their journey. This entry is as follows:

"1812, 7bre 7, Pour serché les Chasseurs qui etet sur la Rre. des Espagnols et Arapaos.

Payé M. Ch. Sanguinet..... 350.
Ch. Latour ..... 300.
Cadet Chevalier ..... 300.
Total depance .....$1066."

This entry shows that in September, 1812, or earlier, Lisa sent Sanguinet and the others named in search of a party of hunters which was supposed to be in that part of the country to which Williams and his companions had gone. That country was outside of the range of Lisa's trade, and the entry quoted is the only one found in the books which speaks of his men having been sent in that direction. Whether the hunters here mentioned were Williams and his party cannot, of course, be positively determined, but there is little ground for doubt that such was the fact. Now, if Williams' party left in August, 1812, as he says, it is certain that Lisa would not be sending in search of it in September of the same year.

Then there is Colonel John Shaw's narrative which but adds to the confusion. Shaw says that in the early spring of 1809 he procured from Governor Bates of Missouri, "a license to search for gold and silver anywhere within the limits of that territory, then supposed to extend to the Pacific—still resolving to reach that distant ocean;" that he engaged Peter Spear and William Miller to accompany him, and went westward, as he should judge, between eight hundred and a thousand miles from the settlements and came in view of the spurs of the great Rocky Mountain Chain.

"In this remote region," he says, "we one day, during the summer, met three men, who proved to be the only survivors of a party of some fifteen trappers who had penetrated high up the Missouri, when in two savage attacks by the Indians, all the others were slain; and these survivors were now directing

their course to the Arkansas River, and admonished us to desist from our further journey westward. Not heeding these earnest admonitions, we kept on, and the next day discovered a party of a dozen or twenty wild Indians, probably Comanches or Pawnees, chasing and catching wild horses with the lasso, which they used with great dexterity and success. We saw them in time to secrete ourselves, unseen by them, and had a full view of them for three or four hours in an immense prairie; and though generally perhaps not less than four or five miles distant from us, they once came within a mile of us in chasing the wild horses. Those engaged in the chase were, of course, mounted on well trained steeds, while others were in groups on foot, taking care of the restless animals that had been taken.

When these unwelcome Indians disappeared, we took the matter into serious consideration, and as painfully as I regretted to abandon our intended exploration to the Pacific, it seemed madness to attempt any further progress; and so we reluctantly turned our faces to the eastward; and when we got to what we deemed pretty safe hunting ground, in what is now eastern Kansas, and western Arkansas and Missouri, we pitched our camp and went to hunting mostly for beaver."

The time they went to hunting for beaver, according to the story, was in the autumn of 1809. Shaw's description of the party which had come from high up the Missouri, and which had been reduced to the three survivors whom he met, tallies fairly with Williams' story in all but the date. Even if Williams had gone up the river in 1807, as Coyner says he did, and hunted there for two years before going to the southward, it was not until the latter part of the next year that the party was reduced to three persons, which would be towards the end of the year 1810.

Williams' statement that he hunted on the upper river for two years is strangely in contrast with the stories of other men who were there at about the

same time. The other men's stories are more about being hunted than of hunting. From Williams' account it might be inferred that it was only in the South that white men's lives were in danger.

The remaining bit of evidence to be considered puts us upon solid ground, as to one thing—the date of Williams' return.

Mr. George C. Sibley, a trustworthy gentleman and United States Indian Agent (this was at a time when these two terms were not contradictory) in charge of Fort Osage on the Missouri, in what is now Jackson County, appends to his report to Governor Clark upon the numbers and condition of the Indian tribes, a note which is as follows:

Mo Gazette Oct 9, 1813 summarized a letter Williams had written from the Kansas Village

"Ezekiel Williams, hunter of the Missouri Fur Company, was on his way from the Rocky Mountains with a considerable quantity of fine fur.

He struck the Arkansas River below the mountains and descended that river within about 150 miles of the Verdigrise when a band of the Kansas found him on the 23d of June last, who robbed him of all he had with him, and very much abused him, as he says, and kept him prisoner to about the 15 Augt. when they released him and restored the greater part of his property. The balance (except a few articles they deny having taken) I have this day caused the Kansas to refund and pay for * * * * *

Arrow Rock on the Missouri, November 30th, 1813."

Coyner says that Mr. Sibley came up the Missouri from St. Louis as far as Cooper's Fort, but was not able to get to Fort Osage on account of the ice and the severity of the winter. The Indians were therefore compelled to come down the river for their annuities to a place called Arrow Rock, and that Captain Williams was there to meet them.

It may be taken as settled, therefore, that the date of Williams return from his most adventurous journey was in the fall of 1813.

Appended to Williams' letter as printed in the *Gazette* there is a statement by Braxton Cooper, which is but a repetition of the statements made by Williams about his second visit to the Arapahoes, except for the fact that Cooper gives the date of starting, 16 May, 1814.

There is no affidavit by Williams to the statements contained in his letter; Cooper swore to the truth of his statements before John Munro, Justice of the Peace.

On this evidence, for none other is known to exist, it is for a jury of intelligent readers to determine when it was that Williams was in Colorado.

The article following, entitled *Singular Discovery,* is here reprinted in explanation of the occasion of Williams' letter.

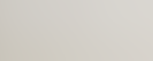
SINGULAR DISCOVERY.

We have been informed by a gentleman of respectability, that some two or three months since, several men started from the neighborhood of the Boons Lick Settlement on a Buffalo hunt, and returning, about 25 or 30 miles from the settlement they discovered a *grave* which they supposed contained the remains of some white man, as there was more pains taken with it than there is common to see with Indian graves, and determined to satisfy their curiosity by opening it and seeing what it contained; and to their astonishment and surprise, they saw the skeleton of a man dressed in uniform; he had a nice pair of epaulets; the buttons on his coat marked U. S.; he was buried setting up with his sword cane between his legs which had as is supposed the initials of his name on it. Our informant is not certain whether it was J. M. C. or J. B. C., but thinks it was one or the other.[1]

[1] The story of the opening of the grave and finding of the body of a white man is told in 1 Long's *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* (Thwaites' Ed.), p. 151, with more detail than here and somewhat differently. It is there stated positively that the initials on the cane were J. M. C.

About 2 years ago a couple of men started from St. Louis in that direction for procuring fur, by the names of J. M. Champlain[2] and ———— Williams, the former of which never returned. All the information that his friends could get of him was from Williams, who said that they had separated some distance back, and had made an agreement that if either of them should fail in getting in, the other was to have the fur which was worth near 4000 dollars. Now from this circumstance the most reasonable conjecture which can be formed of whom this person is that has been found is, that it is the same person that accompanied Williams on the fur expedition. And that after they had procured their load of furs and was on the return he, Williams, who worshipped Mammon more than God, thought the opportunity very auspicious for speculation, and after they had progressed as far homewards as he thought it politic to do, putting as it seems, the evil hour off as long as possible in 25 or 30 miles from Boons Lick Settlement, he coolly and premeditatedly committed one of the most inhuman and outrageous acts of cruelty that the annals of history can produce, by putting to death the friend of his bosom for the sake of lucre! It is supposed that he either committed the act himself or employed the Indians in that quarter to do it for him. If it should be the latter it is likely that the Indians who committed the atrocious act of cruelty would tell all about it, if an inquiry was to be made.

The Western Intelligencer.—Kaskaskia (Illinois Territory) Wednesday evening, July 9, 1816.

[2]  was in St. Louis as early as 1800. He owned land in northeastern Missouri. He was a man of education, probably an European Frenchman. He went up the river with Lisa in 1807, and no mention has been found of his return.

[LETTER OF EZEKIEL WILLIAMS.][3]

COMMUNICATION.

Mr. Charless:

I beg leave through the medium of your Gazette, to answer the enormous charges alleged against me by some unknown calumniator published in the '*Western Intelligencer.*' I am positively charged with the murder of Champlain, of which together with every other fact alleged relative to the affair I trust I shall be able to disprove to the satisfaction of a just people.

In 1810 I went with the Fur Company up the Missouri, near the head of the river, where I hunted two years; there I first became acquainted with Champlain. In August, 1812, a party started to go towards the south to hunt; there were in all near twenty men, each man on his own footing except two who were in Champlain's employ; myself and Champlain were of the company. Manuel Lisa[4] who was an agent of the Fur Company commanded a fort on the Missouri, from whence we started, promised to keep up the fort and a good understanding with the Indians so that our return should not be cut off. We journeyed south forty or fifty days, struck a river I since found to be the Arkansas, where we hunted the first fall unmolested. The next spring the Indians commenced robbing and harrassing our company in every quarter. Some time in June we all assembled on the head

[3] The Williams family had numerous representatives among the early settlers in Howard and Cooper counties. It is said to have been a North Carolina family which migrated westward through Kentucky to Missouri. Several of those who came to Missouri were Baptist preachers, among them the famous mountain man, "Old Bill Williams." The place and date of the birth and death of Ezekiel Williams are unknown. He was captain of a party of traders to Santa Fe in 1827.

[4] For a sketch of Manuel Lisa see 3 Missouri Historical Collections, pp. 233, 367.

of a river since known to be the Platte, where we held a council and agreed to part. Eight or ten crossed the Rocky Mountains, about as many started southward along the mountains, Champlain and myself were with the latter party. We proceeded until we crossed the Arkansas where we were informed by Indians that the fort on the Missouri was broke up, that Manuel Lisa had fell out with the tribes near there and that they were killing each other as they could find them. We now thought it impossible to return to the Missouri, we concluded to part again. Four of our company determined to find the Spanish settlement, six remained; Champlain, his two hired men, two other Frenchmen and myself. We then set out to hunt in October in a cove in the mountain, taking care not to go more than a few miles apart. About the first of November we found three of our men killed; there now remained Champlain, one Porteau[5] and myself. We then took protection amongst the Arapahow nation of Indians, there we found the horses and equipment of our three men just killed. The head chief advised us as the only means to save our lives was to stay with him, which we did, and passed a wretched winter, filled with despair of ever being able to return home. The Indians told us that said Manuel's fort was broke up and that if we attempted to go back that way we would certainly be killed. Champlain and Porteau insisted that we should stay with the Indians until some white person came there who would be able to give the neces-

[5] The name Porteau does not appear in the St. Louis Archives, in Tanguay's Dictionnaire, nor in the lists of Lisa's *engagés*.

One François Potra was in St. Louis as early as 1802; Tanguay gives Potère *dit Chevalier*, and among Lisa's men, in 1807, there was a Poitras. In Long's Expedition (referred to above) at p. 274, Potera's Creek is mentioned; which creek is in the country where these adventurers were. These may be variations of one name, and the Chevalier *Cadet*, mentioned above, may be a younger brother of the man called Porteau by Williams. Such variations of name were not uncommon at that time.

sary information respecting the Fur Company, or the place where we were and of the means of escaping from thence. I decided to find white people or some place of safety or lose my life in the attempt. From the best information the Arrapahows could give me the river that we were on lead into the country of a nation which from their description I thought to be the Osage, and therefore determined to descend that river; my comrades assisted me to make a canoe and on the first day of March, according to our reckoning, I was accompanied by my two companions and a numerous band of Indians to the water side, where I took a final farewell of them. Champlain shook my hand and said farewell, the other turned his back and wept. A few minutes before we parted they told me they would start about three days afterwards. I have never seen them since. I promised them to inform the people at St. Louis of their situation if I should reach there before them, they made me a similar promise. I travelled down the Arkansas about four hundred miles, trapping for beaver the most of the way. I could proceed no further because of low water. About the first of June the water raised and I started down until the last (nearly) of said month. I was taken by the Kansas; they soon distributed my little property among themselves and bound me fast. Luckily I had but little except the skins I had caught descending the Arkansas. I had hid all my furs before that I left the Arrapahows and expected to see it again. The Kansas kept me with them. A party of the Osages were in that country and heard the Kansas had a white man prisoner and sent Messrs. Daniel Larisson[6] and Joseph Larivee with ten Osages to demand me from the Kansas, they would not give me up to the Osages, but would keep me until they returned to their town and send me home. After forty

[6] Daniel Larrison was of St. Louis, and was one of Lisa's men. Joseph Laviree has not been traced.

days we set off. I gave my gun, etc., to a mulatto man to be my friend and speak for me. The Indians returned me part of my furs, the balance was since demanded by the Governor and surrendered. Four Indians and the mulattoe brought me in. On the first day of September I arrived at Boons Lick. I was shortly afterwards in St. Louis where I seen Manuel Lisa, who told me all the above difficulties they had with the Indians at the post where he was, that my comrades had not got in, but were certainly killed if they went that road of which they talked when we parted. In the month of May following I started from Boons Lick to go and bring in my fur from the Arrapahows, in company with Morris May, Braxton Cooper[7] and 18 Frenchmen called Phillebers[8] Company. When we arrived at the Arrapahows I called a council of the chiefs in the presence of all the aforesaid men, two of whom, Durocher[9] and La France, served as interpreters, and asked "*what has become of Champlain and Porteau whom I left in this village*

[7] The Coopers were a numerous family. In the War of 1812 out of 112 men in the military company at Boon's Lick there were twelve of this name. The family migrated from Culpeper County, Virginia, to Madison County, Kentucky; came to Missouri in 1807, and after stopping for a time in St. Charles County removed to Boon's Lick in the Spring of 1808. Braxton Cooper, Jr., was killed by the Indians in September, 1813, and Capt. Sarshall Cooper was shot by some unknown person while sitting in his house in Cooper's Fort, 14 April, 1814. There is an interesting letter by Capt. Joseph Cooper, a son of Capt. Sarshall Cooper, printed in Campbell's *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 242.

[8] Joseph Philibert came to St. Louis in 1801, from Canada, and here married Florence, daughter of Jean Baptiste Ortes and Elizabeth Barada in 1803. (For a notice and portrait of Madame Elizabeth Barada Ortes see 3 Missouri Historical Society *Collections*, p. 184.) Philibert was engaged in the Indian trade for many years, and some of his adventures are told in Edward's *Great West*, pp. 298-302. He died in St. Louis in 1866, leaving seven sons and two daughters. Descendants bearing the name are still living in St. Louis.

[9] See regarding Durocher, 4 Missouri Historical Society Collections, p. 10.

last year"? The chief said they had stayed with them three days after my departure, then went up the river hunting, saying they intended to wait to see if some white man would come there, that they came back again to the village after being gone some time and determined to wait no longer, but tried to go back to the fort on the Missouri. That they bought two other horses, loaded all their furs, etc., having then eleven horses, and started toward the Missouri, that they were seen on the road by two parties of their nation, and that the Crow Indians told them they seen two white men dead in their camp, which they believed were my companions. The Arapahows in the same council confessed that it was their nation that killed our three men in the cove before we took protection among them. They also told us "that three white men had come from the south, wintered with them and went back the same way with furs loaded on three mules and a jack, that they had left their traps. I insisted these were my companions; they produced the traps but they were not the traps of our company. I despaired now of ever finding them, hired Michael La Clair, one of Philleberts company, and with my two companions, Cooper and May, collected part of my fur and started down the Arkansas. We travelled down it about five hundred miles and could proceed no further on account of low water. There we hid the fur and came on home foot, intending to return in the spring following and get it. Some time in the winter I had information that my man La Clair had told of my fur and that a company were about to start to steal it, to be piloted by said La Clair. In consequence of that information I got two men to go with me, they were Joseph and William Cooper.

When I arrived at the little Osage village I was told that La Clair and the aforesaid company were then

at the Cheniers,[10] on their way. I pushed with all force and got there first, and waited the coming of the plunderers, but they did not appear. When the water raised in the Spring we set off with my fur down the Arkansas and when I arrived at the settlement I met Messrs. John and James Lemon's[11] who told me they were at the Cheniers village when the party returned which went to steal the fur, and were told by said party that they (said party) were employed by *certain men* in St. Louis and that their orders were to kill us if we had got there first, and take the fur and bring it in. That they were to have as many Indians to assist them as necessary, that they had hired a large party but had not told them the particulars of their business until they had got within a few miles of the fur. When the Indians were informed of it, they abruptly left them and went back home. Messrs. Lemon's asked the party the reason why they were directed to kill us, they told them that the fur belonged to a company in St. Louis, that I had stole it and if they killed us they would not be *hurt for it.* The above is a true and succinct statement of facts the most important and material parts of which I am still able to prove by good men as any of our country. I refer my fellow citizens to all men of my acquaintance in Kentucky, where I was raised, for my character and conduct from the cradle until I came to this country. I beg leave to refer them to Mr. Reuben Lewis, brother of the late Governor Lewis, and to Andrew Henry of the Mines, and to all others who recollect the facts relative to the circum-

[10] The "Cheniers" is a corruption of Chênes, the oaks. It was the village of the Arkansas band of the Osages, of which Clermont was the principal chief. See 3 Long's *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* (Thwaites') p. 274; 2 Coues' Pike, 557.

[11] James Lemon was a Colonel in the Arkansas Militia, and in 1830 was living in Pulaski County, where he is recorded as the owner of eight negroes. Shinn's *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas*, 72, 239.

stances of the company that went with me towards the south from the fort on the Missouri. I refer them to the depositions of Braxton Cooper and to Morris May and Phillebert's company relative to the facts stated in council by the Arrapahow chief respecting Champlain and Porteau, and the other three men which were killed. I refer them to Mr. John and James Lemon's respecting the facts stated, in which their names are mentioned, and finally I refer it to the impartial, unbiased opinion of all good men if I was the murderer of my bosom friend Champlain?

I profess myself an honest man and good citizen and I believe have been so reputed and taken, until the aforesaid libellous and malicious charges have been propagated against me. I demand justice of my countrymen. I call upon the base *liar* who published the aforesaid slander to put his name out publicly. Let him no longer stab me from behind the scene.

EZEKIEL WILLIAMS.

Boonslick, 7th August, 1816.

Missouri Gazette, September 14, 1816.

LETTER OF CHIEF JUSTICE TANEY:

Baltimore, May 7, 1836.

My Dear Miss Jane:

I hope you have not forgotten that I promised when you were in Baltimore to write something in your album. And as you left us before I fulfilled my promise I send you this note in order that you may paste it on the page where my name is written if you think it worthy of that honor. It may at some distant day remind you not only of your young friend Alice—but of the older friend who now writes to you and who most sincerely and cordially wishes you a long and happy life.

R. B. TANEY.

To

Miss Jane Linn.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR.

By Charles A. Krone.

(Read at a meeting of the Society, 17 March, 1906.)

Continued from Volume IV, No. 1.)

ACT THREE, SCENE THREE.

During the Spring of 1863, Madam Pozzoni, the wife of the wig maker, A. Pozzoni, who is known as the inventor of various cosmetics, was announced to fill in a week as Arline in "The Bohemian Girl." After the third rehearsal the singing man of the company, who was cast for Thaddeus, had left the city without notice, leaving DeBar in a most distressful position, as the affair was extensively advertised, the lady was very popular, and a week's big business at stake. On a Thursday noon I received notice to report at once at the theatre. I obeyed, and found DeBar awaiting me in front of the house. He told me of the predicament he was in and asked me to do Thaddeus, at which I was almost frightened out of my wits, and begged him to excuse me as such a thing was impossible. He laughed and began telling me that some of the company had told him about my voice and that I played the guitar. I tried to assure him that all this was a mistake, and that outside of the chorus business of the theatre and the singing of a simple ballad to the twanging of a guitar, which I played by ear, I was entirely ignorant of music. To which he replied: "Egad, you don't know what you can do until you have tried. Come inside. We'll talk the matter over and I am sure I'll convince you." Upon this he drew me into Fontaine's bar room and ordered drinks for both. Then he began to explain what an advantage it would be to me, and assuring me that only the solos, a few of the concerted pieces

and the choruses would be done, that Waldauer thought I could do it and would see me through, besides the great favor I would confer on him by helping him out of his frightful dilemma. And so with his persuasive talk and the drink I had taken I began to view the matter in a more hopeful light, and after he had added a little more flattery and another drink, I became quite convinced and I consented to attempt the job.

As I had but three days to get ready in, I was ordered to proceed at once to the house of the singer where I stood beside the piano the rest of the afternoon while she was hammering the notes of the different songs into my memory. Fortunately I was acquainted with the opera as I had sung in the chorus. After one more piano rehearsal on Friday I was ready to rehearse with the orchestra. I was heartily sorry I had undertaken the job but as I had given my promise I determined to fulfill it at all hazards, "come what come may, time and the hour run through the roughest day."

On Monday night when the performance took place I was so terrified that when I entered, the entire auditorium beyond the orchestra seemed to be enveloped in darkness. The only faces I saw were those of the musicians, among them Waldauer's smiling and encouraging looks shone forth like a star of hope, but I imagined that the mocking faces of the fellows in the pit were grinning at me as if to say: "Now we are going to have some fun out of the villain who imagines he can do this sort of thing." During the symphony Waldauer looked up at me and whispered: "You are all right." I began the air, "It is Sad to Leave Your Fatherland," and after the first stanza I was greeted with a vigorous sound of applause at which the darkness vanished and I was able to see the dense mass of faces turned toward me and radiated with what then seemed to me like smiles of the angels. My fear abated somewhat; however, the

last stanza I sang was also a prayer that heaven would prevent the audience from demanding an encore, but in vain for I had to repeat it, and though my terror vanished, I was suffering under a most painful anxiety. However, I received an encore for every song and a call before the curtain. The leader said: "I must make an opera singer of him," and DeBar remarked that this was another feather in my cap, and I rejoiced to have been relieved of a terrible burden. DeBar played "Devil's Hoof," which he sang and acted admirably. He was passionately fond of singing and dancing and he never failed to introduce these arts whenever it was possible. "The Bohemian Girl" ran a week to good business and, besides, doomed me to sing wherever it was possible.

The season had been prolific in new parts for my line of business but though I had to study through many nights, I also had days and weeks of leisure at various times to hunt or fish. My benefit, which I took jointly with Miss Mary Maddern, came off in the Spring of 1863. On this occasion Ben DeBar appeared as Ralph Stackpole, Miss Maddern as Edith and myself as Bloody Nathan in the melodrama of "Nick of the Woods." Several volunteers from Deaglé's varieties also appeared among whom were Clara Butler and Harry Leslie, the rope walker, who ascended from the stage to the gallery on a tight rope. The audience was good and so was my share, which made quite an addition to my small salary, which, though it had been raised, was still below the standard. However, as I was getting along and apparently well liked by the public and moreover at home with my relatives, and as my ambition was not only to become a good actor but a citizen and the head of a family, I re-engaged for the season of 1863-4 at a salary of twenty dollars per week. Although at the time I neither knew or felt it, it must have been a pretty hard struggle to support my wife and myself

on a salary of $12.00 per week when coffee was worth 75 and 80 cents per pound, cotton domestics one dollar, and ordinary calico stuffs 50 cents a yard, with all other necessities in proportion. But in this latter my wife, who was an excellent needle worker, helped me out bravely and often made more money than I did. However, rent was reasonable and with Fred Arendes, a man generally known in south St. Louis and still remembered for his kind and social disposition, and my friend Benj. Vogel, the leader, for neighbors, I was happy and satisfied. The vacation of this season of '63 I passed with my brother-in-law in the country where I spent the Summer months in the most agreeable manner in fishing, riding and hunting, after which I returned to St. Louis a week before the season opened in the beginning of September.

I cannot say who opened the season of 1863, as I have never kept a file of programmes, and am therefore unable to tell the exact dates of some occurrences, as I have stated at the commencement of this paper, whose object is rather to relate impressions and the general transactions and characteristics of the period I passed through. To those who are curious on the subject of the earlier history of the theatre, the writings of Sol Smith, and Ludlow's book, "The Drama as I Found It," will give full satisfaction.

Maggie Mitchell, who had now arrived at fame and was on the way to fortune through the excellent pieces furnished by Waldauer, filled an engagement of several weeks with us to continual packed houses. "Little Barefoot" and "Fanchon" were produced, and in the last named I was compelled to represent Landry Barbeaud, the lover, as she refused to play the piece with the leading man in the part for some reason unknown, the same thing occurring to me again in Louisville, where she objected to the man engaged for that work. Miss Mitchell played these

simple peasant girls with a pathos, naiveté and naturalness that took the public of every degree by storm. It was Aug. Waldauer who first discovered her natural talents for this line of work, furnished her with the material to bring it out and started her on a never failing tour that lasted for many years and brought her fame and fortune.

Matilda Heron also appeared for the first time in the city as Lady Isabel in "East Lynne" to filled houses. But although it was a money maker she soon discarded it from her repertoire as unworthy of the high powers that she possessed for better work.

Wm. Florence and wife appeared in Irish Domestic Dramas of a better order than heretofore. The "Colleen Bawn" by Dion Boucicault had quite a run. The Florences besides being excellent actors were affable and kind in their intercourse with their colleagues, and their arrival was always hailed with pleasure.

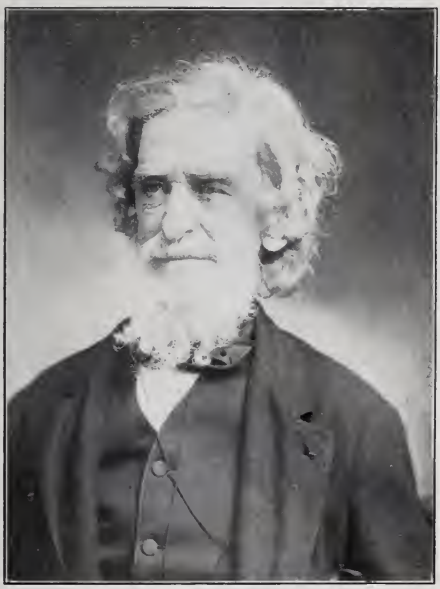
The business was excellent, and Ben DeBar performed his usual concert every night, which was to walk up and down behind the curtain before the performance commenced and whistle Scotch and Irish ballads; a habit of his whenever the house was well filled. His usual costume about the theatre consisted in an old black velvet coat and vest, short trousers and a pair of soft carpet shoes to prevent his footsteps being heard. Between the acts he would give directions for setting the scenes but when the curtain was up he sat upon a box near the stage where he could hear every word that was spoken and when an error or an omission occurred by some careless actor, he would say "Egad, there's another longshoreman."

Julia Dean came for two weeks, and as usual appeared to large and admiring audiences, and though I am not quite certain I am inclined to believe this was her last engagement in this city. To say that Julia Dean was a superior actress is but partly to ex-

press her merits. I will therefore attempt to give a brief outline of this lady's career which may be more to the purpose.

From Ludlow's excellent work entitled "Dramatic Life as I found it," a work which stands as a monument not only of himself but the period it so masterly describes, I have gleaned the following dates in regard to this lady's parentage, birth, entrance on the stage, her marriage and her death.

This gifted actress was born in the state of New York on the 23d of July, 1830, and of a family who were conspicuous as pioneers in the theatrical profession both in the South and West. Her father, Edwin Dean, was an actor; and her mother, a good actress, was the daughter of Sam Drake, noted as the father of the drama in Kentucky, where Mrs. Julia Drake, her grandmother, was idolized as a tragic actress of superior merit. I have had the pleasure of meeting her in Louisville where she would make occasional visits to perform Lady Randolph in the tragedy of "Douglas." I was also acquainted with her uncle, known as "Young Sam" Drake, although he was quite an elderly man. He lived on the Drake Farm, situated some few miles from the city of Louisville, in 1865, when he and I were members of the same company. During the summer vacation he would often invite actors to spend a few weeks on the farm to hunt, fish and tell stories. One of his anecdotes particularly delighted me and I will tell it. It was thus: He said that his father delighted in playing "Hamlet" and as there were no musicians in most of the cross road villages in which they performed during their wanderings, he had learned to perform on the violin, which enabled him to play the overture behind the curtain at the end of each act, and that when he died as "Hamlet" he would fall with half of his body hid behind a wing, whereupon "Young Sam" would hand him



N. C. LUDLOW.

his fiddle and he would play his own dying music. Surely an energetic grandfather.

While Miss Dean was quite a child, she lost her mother and was committed to the care of her father's family, who were Quakers, where she remained until her fourteenth year, when she and her father were engaged by the firm of Ludlow & Smith for the season of 1844. From this time forth she appeared in all the principal southern and western cities, and in a few years her rapid progress enabled her to command the position of an ideal interpreter of the youthful heroines of Shakespeare, the English standard drama, and high comedy. In 1855, while in the full bloom of life, and at the zenith of her fame, winning laurels wherever she appeared, and with the certain prospect of fortune before her, she married and alas, most unhappily. After much cruel treatment and heartrending suffering, she obtained a divorce; was subsequently married again, and happily, but after a short term of peace and calm died in 1868, aged 37 years. Such is the brief and mournful history of one of the brightest and most gentle and talented lights that has illumined the American Stage.

During my first season with Ben DeBar she played a few weeks' engagement at the St. Louis Theatre. Shakespeare's Juliet, Parthenia in "Ingomar" and Julia in "The Hunchback" were among her favorite parts. Aug. Waldauer had translated "Griseldis" especially for her, and she appeared in the title role, and though she played it beautifully, the subject of the plot being the honor of a woman subjected to a wager, the play was not popular at the time. She attended every rehearsal and in conjunction with Ben DeBar directed her plays.

Although I was too young then to understand the import of her talent and excellent character as fully as in later years I was deeply impressed by the cheerful yet dignified courtesy with which she gave her di-

rections to the younger members of the company, the earnest interest she showed for the details of their work, and the gentle regard and esteem in which she was held by all. Her figure was of medium height, slender and delicately proportioned. Her face of the oval type, rather full and fair, large and pensive eyes, a crown of brown hair, and a mouth and lips that indicated cheer and smiles; her voice was low and melodious and her gait and deportment that of a woman full of light and promise, with the natural grace and simplicity of girlhood. These as far as I can recollect were the outward graces of this lady. Great is the pity that the spiritual work of a player is so transitory and evanescent that death annihilates it completely and leaves but a sad memory to those who witnessed it. To have seen Julia Dean in Parthenia and Juliet was a charm never to be forgotten, and never since has there been a delineator of the youthful heroines of the classic drama to compare with her until Adelaide Neilson, who was the last of that class, came here in 1877. She too died young. When we think of the short and brilliant career of some beings and the overweight of sorrow that accompanies them, as they were ennobling and shedding joy and light upon others, while their own earthly existence was darkened and overwhelmed by secret grief and care, as in the case of Julia Dean, one is forced to think that Providence sends these superior beings to us, not for their own sakes, but for the betterment of others, and who come like the glorious sunset of a summer's eve to guild the dark clouds for a moment with transcendant beauty, and then die as the darkness of night falls o'er hill and plain. It was thus that this spirit illumined the vocation she had embraced, and thus she vanished from our admiring gaze.

Miss Charlotte Thompson, a new and successful star of this period, appeared in the same class of

JULIA DEAN, 1830–1869.

youthful heroines that Miss Dean had essayed and scored a decided success. During one of her engagements a new melodrama was produced from the pen of Thomas Garrett, a gentleman who was well known as an efficient newspaper man, theatrical critic, essayist and poet, who for many years formed one of the editorial staff of the St. Louis Republican. He died some few years ago lamented by all who knew him, especially by the actors of this period, to whom he had been a genuine friend and a fairminded and courteous critic.

The great London favorites, Chas. Mathews, Chas. Dillon and Madam Celeste, also paid us a visit. Whatever success these artists may have had in other cities of America, in St. Louis their efforts were anything but profitable.

The season progressed according to the usual routine of rehearsal, study and the appearance of the customary list of stars, embracing both those of this country and England. The most important event, however, that happened to me was when, on a cold night in December, 1863, as I mounted the stairs to my home, the feeble wail of an infant fell upon my ear proclaiming that a newcomer had arrived, and as I entered I found what I had longed for, a son, and the mother and child doing well. I was happy beyond measure, and having an additional incentive to struggle, the frequent interruptions in my studies by baby cries, or orders to prepare catnip tea or run to the druggist's, incommoded me but little, for my heart felt assured that these petty cares would be repaid some day in the future—and my heart did not deceive me.

During the last week of this year in 1863, the cold became so intense that men froze to death in the streets. On New Year's Eve, however, in spite of the cold, the house was packed to its utmost capacity to witness the drama of the "Hidden Hand." During

the performance a fight occurred in the pit and a terrible racket ensued for quite a time, the bouncers evidently not being able to eject the disturbers. Upon this, DeBar, who prided himself as a boxer, rushed to the front of the house while the actors on the stage paused and anxiously awaited further developments. DeBar was among them and ere long we heard him shout for "Bob," his stage carpenter, who had left immediately after him. Things evidently were coming to a crisis. The next thing we heard amidst the din was DeBar's shout of "Wh-o-o-p!" an exclamation he often made use of in his comic parts when struck in the wind, and immediately after the tumbling over of the red hot stove which fell with a loud crash, filling the auditorium with dense black smoke while the fighters were thrown into the street and the audience cheered the victors. Although there was much excitement and the hose attached to the fire pump of the theater had been dragged onto the stage, the audience after being assured there was no danger made no attempt at a stampede or even a rush, and all remained quiet. A very sickly and weak lady, the wife of an officer, had fainted in one of the boxes and a man had cleared the railing of the pit and jumped upon the stage to escape by the back door to the great amusement of the audience. The stove was speedily replaced and DeBar returned to the stage, his face heroically flushed and his sleeves rolled back, exclaiming: "E'gad, that fellow kicked like a mule but I got him, E'gad, I got him." Upon being told that it was thought that he had received a thump on his stomach, he answered: "Oh you thought so, did you? well, E'gad, maybe I didn't know it."

On my way home that night I was very cold and before long I began to feel sleepy and drowsy with an inclination to doze in some doorway, which grew upon me speedily. I no longer felt the cold as at first. I remembered the cause of this abnormal condition and

to save myself from freezing to death I ran as fast as I could. On the corner of Spruce street and Fourth a drunken man was seated on the icy pavement talking to himself. I reminded him of the bitter cold night and begged him to get up and save himself from freezing. Upon my attempting to raise him to his feet he heaped a volley of abuse on me and said that I was nothing but a common thief that wanted to steal his money; that he had seen me before; that the whole town knew me for a crooked son of a corkscrew and the sooner I got out of the way the better for he would call the police. I saw it was no use, for in his drunkenness he evidently had mixed up my profession with my moral character, and so wishing him a happy New Year, I again started to run until I had reached Rutger street, where a party of friends were enjoying a dance. Here I warmed up with coffee and food and proceeded home where I found all well. I was compelled to watch the entire night feeding the fire and studying some new parts I had received. My usual means to keep awake during my night studies was to drink potions of strong black coffee, and, as I am an inveterate smoker, a long German pipe was filled with Porto Rico tobacco, and thus armed, after closing the door where the wife and baby slept, I would walk the kitchen floor memorizing and loudly declaiming my part. This manner of studying after awhile was objected to by one of the tailors who slept in the rear of Arendes' establishment immediately under my kitchen. He complained that I disturbed him as he could hear every word I said and that he was kept awake most of the night by the loud vociferations and villainous sentiments uttered, and so I was compelled to keep quiet. My next plan was to run a low calico curtain across the sleeping room separating the stove and my studio from the bed wherein my little family slept, and spreading a wolf skin before the stove upon which I would stretch and

study and blow the smoke of my pipe into the fire, where it would cause no annoyance to the sleepers. When I look back upon those days with their scarcity of comforts as compared with those of the present; of the difficult and often fearful tasks that were performed at the shortest notice, and the small remuneration received, and all this borne too, with a willing and courageous heart, unconscious of there being anything meritorious or praiseworthy in such a life, for the words "hustle" and "strenuosity" had not been invented as yet, I cannot but think that they were among the most blessed days of my life. In spite of the corruption that had already begun to set in, the theatrical calling was still in the hands of cultured gentlemen and actors trained for the profession, and many of the greatest lights were still struggling to keep the ship afloat. There was still in all first class theatres some liberty of individual development, and a genuine poetic ardor alive in those who were in earnest, as in the case of DeBar, Jas. McVicker, Geo. Fuller and John Ellsler, who represented the West, North and South. There were no syndicates or trusts with their hosts of middlemen and agents, and "pick ups" from among those that were either too rich or too lazy to learn a trade; for acting then meant work and hard work under anything but easy conditions. And so it was, that outside of those who were born and bred to that labor in actor families, the greater part were recruited from men that had learned a trade and had been taught to do one thing right, at least, in this world. Individual character and merit had greater scope, and when an engagement was sought an efficient manager and actor was applied to and not an ignorant middleman or agent to whom with cap in hand and "bated breath and whispering humbleness" the supplication was made. Life was more regular, safe, and seemed so to last forever; and as each man first and

foremost was working for his own reputation freely and untrammeled, and no great nor luxurious demands were made on the necessities of life, the actor's vocation though hard, was not devoid of a rational content.

On Jan. 11th, 1864, John Wilkes Booth commenced a week's engagement during which he appeared preeminently as Richard III. and Raphael in the "Marble Heart." John Wilkes Booth possessed a slender and graceful figure like his brother Edwin, though apparently somewhat taller and more closely knit and wiry, revealing a larger amount of animal spirits and love of action. Hair and complexion were dark, and his face though meditative in expression was illumined by a pair of dark and brilliant eyes, which together with the pleasant smile of his curling lips rather bespoke a genial temper and a lover of good fellowship and pleasure. As he differed in personal appearance from Edwin, so did he differ in his acting, which was more forcible, and manifested itself in stronger colors and bursts of passion. His speech was musical like his brother's, but stronger and more rapid, though clear and distinct. In the fulness of youth, life and passion, with the glorious record and talents inherited from his father at his command, he gave promise of achieving the highest. Most men of that day considered him superior to his brother and predicted great things in his favor. He was very much liked by his colleagues, as his manner of directing and sociability was frank, manly and cheerful, and no one could have ever divined that this kind and courteous young man would soon become the principal actor in one of the saddest tragedies in the world's history.

His Richard III. was repeated on Jan. 16th, 1864, the last night of his engagement. Through the kindness of my esteemed old friend, Wm. Latour, at pres-

ent of Joplin, Mo., and who at that time was a citizen of St. Louis and prominent in amateur circles, and who has since gained an enviable reputation as a Lodge Lecturer on Masonic and other fraternal matters, I have been able to procure the following program with a list of the company. It reads as follows:

ST. LOUIS THEATRE
Between 3rd & 4th on Pine St.

POSITIVELY LAST NIGHT OF MR. J. WILKES BOOTH

WHO WILL (by request) REPEAT HIS GREAT CHARACTER OF RICHARD III.

OR

BATTLE OF BOSWORTH FIELD.

Richard, Duke of Gloster.....Mr. J. W. Booth
Henry, Earl of Richmond.....Mr. Carden
King Henry .....Mr. Krone
Prince of Wales .....Miss Valle
Duke of York .....Miss Morris
Duke of Buckingham .....Mr. Sherry
Duke of Norfolk .....Mr. Stone
Lord Stanley .....Mr. Rogers
Tressel .....Mr. Simpson
Oxford .....Mr. Leonard
Catesby .....Mr. Barnes
Ratcliff .....Mr. Raymond
Lieut. of the Tower.....Mr. Kyle
Lord Mayor .....Mr. Huntley
Tirrel .....Mr. Hamilton
Queen Elizabeth .....Miss Charlotte Wyett
Lady Anne .....Miss Maddern
Duchess of York .....Mrs. McManus

TERRIFIC BROAD-SWORD COMBAT
BETWEEN RICHARD & RICHMOND

To conclude with the farce called the

SPECTRE BRIDEGROOM.

Diggory .....W. P. Smith
Aldwinkle .....Mr. Lemoyne
Vauntingdon .....Mr. Stone
Nicodemus .....Mr. Rogers
Paul .....Mr. Leonard
Lavina .....Miss E. Maddern
Georgiana .....Miss Burbank

MISS MATILDA HERON BEING ENGAGED
FOR SIX NIGHTS ONLY

Will appear on Monday night next as

CAMILLE.

At the close of the first act of this performance where Richard kills Henry 6th, a part which I represented, he whipped out his sword, and at the words "Die, prophet, in thy speech," made such a violent thrust at my side that I apprehended danger, and so, swiftly turning to the other side, the sword passed through the back of the black velvet arm-hole cloak I wore, and I fell. Thinking that he had stabbed me he was so frightened that while I was speaking the dying speech, he stood trembling and repeatedly asked me if I was hurt. When the curtain fell he raised me. I knew not whether I had been hurt or not, but a brief examination revealed that a small hole in the cloak had been the only damage done, at which he was highly delighted. Some years ago, rumaging among my wardrobe, I came across that cloak, all dingy and discolored by age, and I was about to throw it among the rags when my wife induced me to keep it as a mournful relic of those troublous times.

Joseph Murphy came with an Irish drama in which two donkeys were to be used in a race at a village fair. DeBar was very much opposed to animals appearing on his stage, and he tried his utmost to prevent this venture, but Murphy insisted on the donkeys. When evening came the long ears not only refused to run the race when brought upon the scene but actually refused to stir a foot after they were mounted by two boys dressed as jockeys. After much biting and kicking at everything within their reach, they were literally shoved off the scene by force, and tied up in the scene room, where in a short time they chewed off the ropes that bound them and wandered about the entrances and dressing rooms followed by Butts, the property man, with a gunny bag and DeBar with a shovel. But his disgust reached the limit when in a conspiracy scene between myself and a partner in crime, I said, "These papers only require one more witness and we are safe," one of the donkeys trotted on the stage and poked his hairy head between us as though it had been his cue, upon which my partner replied, "Well, now that we are all here, let's proceed to business." Everybody laughed and applauded and DeBar swore that he would never permit another animal to disgrace his theatre. On this occasion he triumphed for the donkeys were removed because they were useless, but the time was fast approaching when not only donkeys, horses and dogs but safe blowers, convicts and bandits would be featured alongside of the few remaining champions of the true art.

Song and dance men and variety buffoons, a few of whom were genuine in their calling, had begun to invade the stage, and were filling the treasury to the detriment of good taste and the dramatic literature. In addition to these the opera bouffe with its Duchess of Gerolstein and LaBelle Hélène, and the Black Crook made its entrance. Dramatic authors also, were as plentiful as blackberries and filled the country with the

most silly and brutal melodramas, in which men were being hanged on real gallows as in John Stephons' "Neck & Neck"; children were murdered by placing them on the wheel of a water mill, men were tied to a log near a circular saw in a saw mill to be killed by steam, wives were murdered by setting fire to their beds saturated with coal oil or throwing them from precipices. I know what all this means for as the villain of the theatre, it fell to my lot to commit all of these atrocities, and I gained quite a reputation in that unenviable position, and as it was my duty I strove to perform it to the best of my ability, but had it been known with what disgust and pangs of conscience that I undertook these idiotic jobs, they would have been convinced that it is possible that an honest man can play a rogue, a fact which the majority seemed to doubt. In the "Neck and Neck" piece I played the part of the villain who brings the hero to the gallows in the second act. He is hanged on a real modern gallows, but is not killed. He escapes, and with the rope in his hand goes whining about revenge on his accuser, whom, of course, he overtakes and who is condemned to hang. Now, I was to furnish the hanging to end the play. I objected and stated that I would sooner quit the theatre. Upon which DeBar was called, who after hearing the case said, "Egad, Krone is right, one hanging a night is enough." So I merely had the rope placed around my neck and the cap drawn over my head when the curtain descended. Heretofore, in a French revolutionary play I had been hanged every night for a week, and that too, on an old time cross beam gallows without a thought of objecting, but that was in a sensible historical play and the character, though bad, a rational human being.

The above incidents happened forty years ago, and though many things have improved for the better, popular amusements evidently have developed for the worse, for to the brutality of those former days is

added that af lasciviousness, twin children of the same parents, materialism and luxury. To be convinced of this it is only necessary to study the play bills, which for the most part decorate the bill boards of any city. If any reasonable inhabitant of sixty years ago could return and see these gaudy pictures, he would certainly think that the entire theatrical business had been reduced to two ideas, woman and revolver, and that the people were desperadoes who could delight in this carnival of lust and murder.

Mrs. Bowers, Chas. Dillon, Edwin Eddy and the majority of the stars of that period from both sides of the Atlantic played to excellent business. The season was drawing to a close and DeBar offered to re-engage me at the same salary for the next year. I demanded a raise of five dollars a week, which he said he was unable to pay. Upon this I broke off all further negotiations and prepared to look elsewhere when Thos. Conner, the former leading man whom DeBar had discharged, came from Louisville and told me he had been sent expressly by the Louisville management to make arrangements with me for the coming season at a salary of half as much again as that which I received here, that Geo. Fuller was the lessee and manager, and that he, Conner, would be the stage director, and that he had quit drinking, and so I closed with him at once. When DeBar heard of the transaction he offered me the same amount together with some advantages in regard to my benefit, but I refused. I regretted to make this change, for DeBar was one of the most efficient stage directors that this country has produced, and a man of honor. His every action whether in art or the business of life, clearly revealed the principles upon which they were based, and left no doubt as to what he intended or required of others. You were always clear with him, and if he was satisfied with you, there was no need to fear side issues or foreign interference, for he had the knack of knowing his likes, and

to such he was a quiet, straightforward and true friend. Economical to a fault, he never failed to come up to his obligations and to keep his contracts with his people even at a great loss. On being questioned why he kept a worthless actor who was walking the streets and drawing his salary every week without rendering service, he answered, "I made a contract with him for a season." And when reminded that the fellow was utterly worthless, he replied, "Egad, that's not his fault but mine, for it was my business to know him. Egad, I'm supposed to be the boss."

A collection had been made to assist a dissolute actor whom he had discharged for drunkenness, and the paper headed by him with five dollars. No sooner had the money been delivered over to this man to send him to his home in Philadelphia, when he squandered it in drink, lay in the streets, was arrested and placed in the calaboose. To prevent further disgrace a second petition was started and I was deputed to induce De-Bar again to head the signatures. I took the paper to his dressing room and he flatly refused saying we were getting too many of that kind of late, and that he, for his part, would not encourage these loafers to crowd into the business. I replied that it was done to ward off the shame every respectable actor would suffer while the fellow remained in town, and that a railroad ticket would be bought, lunch provided, and he packed into a car the last moment. Upon this he answered, "Krone, my boy, you can do what you like, but I have done," and I left the room. I had scarcely gone ten paces, when he shouted for me to return, upon which he took the paper and signed $2.00, warning me to be sure and see him on the train as he was tired of this goody-goody business that did nothing but ill. He was often deceived in his charities and in the confidence he reposed in others, yet never failed to respond where he was asked for help. One party had left him with a debt of $50.00 which he had advanced to buy him an

overcoat during the severe winter, and upon being advised by a citizen never again to advance money to any of his people, his answer was, "Egad, that's a fine philosophy you're teaching me. Because one damned rogue has deceived me, I suppose I am to let the next honest man freeze to death."

His economy, of which so much was said at one time by his critics, was nevertheless well timed, for he well knew it was impossible to run a theatre with a full force, pay salaries regularly for 38 or 43 weeks, and produce scenery and costumes as they do in the subsidized and court theatres of Europe. It could not be done then nor is it done at present without slighting the essentials. Although a lover of what was best and excellent in his profession, he was at times forced to submit and make concessions to popular demands, or what are termed up-to-date business methods. An instance of the latter kind was the advertising curtain which had become the fashion. He had one painted which in glaring colors presented the popular Oak Hall Clothing Store on the northwest corner of Fourth and Washington avenue with the delivery wagon and a driver in livery passing in front of the establishment. On the first night it was hailed with jeers and hisses, especially the driver in livery, who was often mocked and taunted when seen in the streets. I think this was the first liveried coachman I ever saw. After a few nights the curtain was removed. To his company De-Bar was a strict but considerate manager, for with whomsoever he was satisfied enjoyed the liberty of working according to their own conception, never forcing his individuality on those he considered efficient, and to those who were not he was a teacher par excellence. He was an inveterate enemy of those he termed "Make believes" and one season sufficed for such, but ever anxious to retain those who harmonized with his ways. On one occasion a friend of his asked him why he did not change his company to which he replied:

"E'gad, you don't make anything of those I've got now, although many of them are as good as can be found in the country. And if I did change it and got Edwin Booth for a leading man, it would not be three weeks before you would say 'Ben, when are you going to get your new leading man?' Besides, I know what I am doing. I'm running this theatre and not you, and don't you forget it, E'gad I'm not a bricklayer." This was a favorite expression of his, and truly in his sense he was not a member of that trade. Nevertheless the spiritual plumb and line he worked with for thirty years to build a temple for the rational amusement and culture of the people; the many apprentices he taught and sent forth on their mission as intelligent journeymen if not as artists; the care and accuracy with which he pursued his work through joy and sorrow until the sad hour arrived for him to drop his plumb and line and leave his trowel in other hands, justifies a symbolic relation to the builders' craft. However, since then the trade has changed somewhat, for he built from the foundation. The present method seems to be to begin with the roof. He was opposed to extravagant stage properties such as furniture, dress and overloaded scenery and decorations, not only because they were expensive but because they detracted from the more important elements of the play, and as such were highly inartistic. The many characters which he performed were always dressed with rigid exactness and conformity as to their characteristics and without being costly or elaborate, for he thought no more of having the *real* thing, than he would have thought it necessary to have a costume of the period of Henry IV. from the Tower of London to play Falstaff in. But the imitation, and, mark it well, not the real, but the artistic imitation, was the beginning and end to him of all that had any worth either in costume, scenery or acting. His property man, Walter Butler, or "Butts" as he was called, was a skillful hand at his trade, who

in conjunction with the stage carpenter built every property needed for the theatre from Ophelia's coffin to a throne chair; and sofas, settees, chairs, etc., by the aid of proper covers and decorations were transformed into as many different shapes as the various periods called for. The dinner sets consisting of roast turkeys, chickens or a boar's head, together with the confectionery were of papiermache and made in the theatre, or were highly artistic imitations from France. The wine was cold tea, or water colored with burnt sugar, and when pipes were used camomile flowers were smoked instead of tobacco. Some few articles of real food were placed along side of the counterfeit and these were eaten. This system was prevalent in all first class theatres in the country and the public certainly lost nothing by the procedure if the actors understood their business. A story current at one time which amused many who were clamoring for one thousand dollar furniture sets, real turkeys, wine and other realities that had begun to invade the imitative art, was lately told me by Henry Hillicker, scene painter at the time, and who was present when it occurred. It was thus: The painter, the property man and the chief carpenter had come to present their semi-monthly accounts to DeBar in his office, which was situated in the house adjoining the theatre and in which he also lived.

After having overlooked the painter's and the carpenter's accounts, it was the property man's turn. Camille, in which a champagne supper takes place, had been played during the whole week. In looking over the bill DeBar observed that forty cents had been spent each night for celery and he cried out: "What's this, how's this, forty cents for celery?" Butts replied that such was the case. "Where does it go to, E'gad they don't eat it, do they?" Butts replied they did not. "Then why don't you use it again?" Butts answered that they tear the stalks apart, which pre-

vented their further use. DeBar looked at him scornfully from head to foot, and said: "And you call yourself a property man? Bring me the stalks and a piece of thin pliable wire and I'll teach you your trade." The celery stalks and the wire were brought, and DeBar commenced adjusting the stalks and passing the wire through each, all the while giving angry admonitions to Butts and looking at him contemptously and axclaiming: "E'gad, you think you're a property man." While his parrot at the other end of the office kept crying: "Oh papa, oh papa" at each ejaculation until the celery bunch was finished in fine style. After looking over the bill again, he suddenly exclaimed: "What's this, twenty cents for lump sugar every night? What becomes of all the sugar?" Butts answered that the people eat it. "Oh they eat it, do they, E'gad, I'll soon put a stop to that," and he called for his housekeeper, angrily shouting "Rebecca, Rebecca." The parrot again took up the cue and woefully cried "Oh papa, oh papa," at which DeBar thundered out, "Shut up, you darn fool, I'm not talking to you." Rebecca entered and she was asked if there were any potatoes or turnips in the house. Rebecca had both, and she was ordered to bring a large turnip and a glass sugar bowl. The articles were brought and he peeled the turnip, after which he cut it into square lumps, placed them in the crystal bowl and shaking them before Butts' face, triumphantly shouted: "There's your sugar for you, and you, E'gad, you call yourself a property man." And Butts was dismissed from the room after having learned a new lesson in the art of property making.

When I hear some of our present speculator managers remark, with a sympathetic sneer, what DeBar would say if he returned and saw the present improvement in the theatrical business, and then compare the former cheap and unenlightened period with its poor struggling managers and actors to the present high-

priced and sumptuous productions, which they, the superior managers, are offering to the public, I am inclined to say with old King Lear, "Good apothecary, give me an ounce of civet to sweeten my imagination." However, since DeBar left the arena, I do not know of one who managed a theatre for more than twenty-five years without missing a salary day and who died without owing an actor a cent. Without being lavish either in money, praises or promises, those who enjoyed his respect, were always free to ask him for money or for help, and his kindness was not of the sympathetic or sentimental type, but bluff and direct, and without show or condescension.

As regards the quality if his companies of that period, he did the best that was possible under the circumstances for the war had thrown a host of people on the market known as war actors, who filled the lower ranks in the business, whereas, those of the higher could always be found in his companies, and these were such as never had any trouble to secure engagements in the best of eastern theatres where they invariably made a record. St. Louis, comparatively, has not failed to raise its quota of good actors, singers, dramatic authors, scenic artists and leaders of orchestras, many of whom have attained to a national reputation. The critical spirit of those days was more severe than it is at present, and audiences would hiss as well as applaud. In the journals of that day very rarely will a company be mentioned as being excellent, as at present, when it appears it is taken for granted that all are good. A set of hyper-critics were then on hand who could not have been satisfied with anything short of a theatre in Utopia, where Forrest, Macready and Booth were the boot-jacks and the archangels played the leading business. These critics kept the actor alert, and prevented him from giving vent and imposing his conceits upon others, for men of acknowledged merit, when speaking of themselves as actors,

were liable to be told by some of their colleagues to stick a sign on their back so people might know them as such, and if someone said: "I played such or such a part," he was apt to be was asked if he didn't mean that "he went on for it."

I regretted very much to leave St. Louis, but as the Louisville engagement had been signed and settled upon, I went to bid DeBar good-bye after the season closed. I found him at his office where he was engaged arranging a dozen pair of polished shoes and slippers he was in the habit of keeping in order, on a shelf. This love of footwear was a fad with him and an object of curiosity and remark for everyone who entered the place. A Cerberus in the shape of a snappish black and tan lay under the shelf jealously guarding this pile of footwear. After a brief conversation, he assured me that if at any future period I desired to return to him, to drop him a line in time, when: "E'gad, I'll fix it all right for you, so good-bye, old boy," and with a somewhat heavy heart, I passed through the door as the curtain slowly descended on my third act.

LETTER FROM DICKENS TO SENATOR LINN.

Washington, March 16th, 1842.

My Dear Sir:

I am truly obliged to you for forwarding me the letter from St. Louis which (despite my stern resolves to the contrary) I *cannot* resist. As you kindly offerred to forward my reply, I enclose it—and am my Dear Sir

With true regard,

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES DICKENS.

To Honorable L. F. Linn.

The letter from St. Louis was an invitation to a public dinner. Dickens accepted, and reached St. Louis, 5 April, 1842. Wilkin's *Charles Dickens in America,* 215, and see *American Notes.*

LETTER TO PRESIDENT JEFFERSON.[1]

René Jusseaume.

(From the Bixby Collection of Jeffersoniana.)

Monsieur Le President.

Comme vous m'avez permis l'honneur de vous parler j'espere que vous me pardonnerez la liberté que je prend de vous ecrire pour implorer votre generositè car je suis dans une position bien malheureuse et dans l'impossibilitè de fournir aux besoins de ma pauvre famille, n'etant plus capable de travailler. Je crois bien que Mr Prior Le chef de notre expedition vous aura instruit du mauvais succez de notre voyage et je pense qu'll aura dit la veritè, mais moi qui me trouve actuellement estropié et selon toute apparence pour le reste de mes jours car depuis le neuf septembre que les Ricaras m'ont donné deux balles a travers du corps j'ai restè plus de deux mois sans pouvoir me remuer et actuellement je souffre beaucoup. J'espere de votre gènerositè j'oserois même dire de votre justice que vous voudrez bien m'accorder une gratification qui puisse me mettre a même de pourvoir a ma famille qui manque de tout. Je vous demande encore en grace de vouloir bien me renvoyer chez les Mandanes pour que je puisse remettre mes enfans aux pa-

[1]The expedition referred to in this letter left St. Louis in the Spring of 1807, for the purpose of returning to his home the Mandan chief, Shehaka, who had come down the river and visited the President at Washington, at the invitation of Captains Lewis and Clark. Jusseaume accompanied Shehaka, as interpreter, and both he and the chief had their families with them. It has been generally understood that the Chouteau who was engaged in the fight with the Ricaras on this occasion, was Major Pierre Chouteau, but from this letter it appears that it was his eldest son, Auguste Pierre Chouteau. For an account of the expedition referred to see 3 Missouri Historical Society Collections, p. 252; for a notice of René Jusseaume, the author of this letter, see 4 *Ib.*, 36. See also *Ante*, p. 195 for a reference to this expedition.

The handwriting of this letter seems to be that of M. Provenchere, a resident of St. Louis at that time, but the signature is Jusseaume's own.

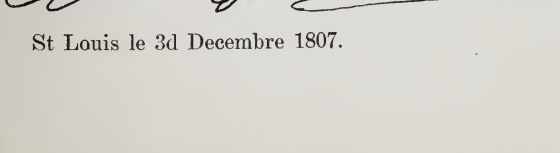
rens de leur mere qui en auront soin apres moi, mais vous voyez, President, que les sauvages ne porteront respect au Pavillon des Etats Unis que lors qu'il sera soutenu par une force suffisante. J'ai fait ainsi que Mr Auguste Chouteau fils et Dorion tout ce qui a ètè en mon pouvoir d'abord pour etre amis avec les sauvages ensuite pour nous deffendre contre eux et mes blessures ne m'ont point empechè de tirer plus de quarante coups de fusile et de reprendre la medaille que le matin même Mr Prior avoit donnè au chef qui a commencè L'attaque et l'a jettè avec mepris a nos pieds, Dieu merci je me suis sauvè et c'est ce que je ne concois pas encore, environ sept cent sauvages presque tous armés tirant sur la barge de Mr Auguste Chouteau ou j'etois et a trente pas de distance enfin nous n'avons eu que quatre hommes de tuez et cinq de blessez. Mr Prior a ètè plus heureux avant poussé au large des le commencement parce que le chef mandane etoit dans sa barge il n'a eut que trois hommes de blessez. Les Ricaras sont jaloux du retour du chef Mandane et veulent le faire perir mais j'espere que vous nous donnerez du monde comme il faut et que nous irons les punir et passer en maitres.

Je me recommande a vous, Monsieur Le President, et vous suplie de prendre en consideration la position de votre suppliant estropié et hors d'etat de travailler pour avoir obei a vos desirs en descendant avec le Cap^{n} Lewis et qui est et sera toujours pret a sacrifier le reste de sa vie a votre service.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre avec le plus profound respect

Monsieur Le President

Votre tres humble et
obeissant serviteur



St Louis le 3d Decembre 1807.

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING LETTER,
BY ANTOINETTE DOUGLAS.

Mr President:—

Since you allowed me the honor of speaking to you, I hope that you will pardon the liberty I take in writing to implore your generosity, for I am in a very unfortunate position in which it is impossible to provide for the needs of my poor family, being no longer fit for work. I believe that Mr. Prior, the leader of our expedition, will have informed you of the ill success of our voyage, and I think that he will have told the truth, but perhaps he did not tell that I am now crippled and to all appearances for the rest of my days; for since the ninth of September when the Ricaras sent two bullets through my body, I have lain for more than two months without being able to move and even at this time I suffer a great deal. I hope of your generosity, I even dare say of your justice, that you will be willing to grant me a gratification which will enable me to provide for my family which lacks everything. I also ask you the favor of sending me back to the Mandan tribe in order that I may take my children back to their mother's parents, who will take care of them after me. But you see, President, that the Indians will have respect for the flag of the United States only when it shall be defended by a sufficient force. I have done all that was in my power, as well as Mr. Auguste Chouteau, the younger, and Dorion, first to be friends with the Indians, then to defend ourselves against them. Nor did my wounds prevent me from firing more than forty rifle shots and from taking up the medal which on that same morning Mr. Prior had given to the chief who began the attack, and who had thrown it with scorn at our feet. Thank God, I escaped; and I am still unable to understand how amid seven hundred Indians, almost all armed, firing at Mr. Auguste Chouteau's barge where I was, and only thirty paces away, we had only four men killed and five wounded. Mr. Prior was very fortunate, having put off at the start because the Mandan chief was in his barge. He had only three men wounded. The Ricaras are jealous of the return of the Mandan chief, and wish to kill him; and for that reason I hope that you will give us enough men so that we may go to punish them and pass through as masters.

I recommend myself to you, Mr. President, and beg you to take into consideration the condition of your suppliant, crippled and not in a condition to work, through having obeyed your wishes in coming down with Captain Lewis, and who is and will always be ready to sacrifice the rest of his life in your service.

I have the honor to be with the deepest respect, Mr. President,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

René Jusseaume.

St. Louis, December 3, 1807.

JEFFERSON MEMORIAL.—View from South West.

NOTES.

The New Home of the Society. The Missouri Historical Society is now established in its new home, the Jefferson Memorial, for which it is indebted to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, which erected the beautiful building, and to the City of St. Louis, which gave the site in Forest Park. On the 28th of April the building was opened to give to the members of the Historical Society a private view of the new quarters, and on the next evening the city officials were invited to make a visit of inspection. On the 30th of April the Exposition Company unveiled the magnificent heroic statue of Jefferson, the work of Mr. Karl Bitter, which is placed in the archway of the building, and on the same day the St. Louis Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution unveiled a tablet which is placed in stairway hall of the Historical Society's quarters, to Col. Samuel Hammond, who was Commandant of the District of Louisiana in 1804, by appointment of President Jefferson. The tablet is the work of Mr. Robert Bringhurst, and was presented, on behalf of the Chapter, by Mrs. John N. Booth, former regent, acknowledged by Mrs. E. Washington Bellamy, of Macon, Georgia, a granddaughter of Colonel Hammond, and accepted on behalf of the Society by President Bixby. On the evenings of May 1st and 2nd, public meetings were held by the Society, at which addresses were made by General James Grant Wilson, of New York; Governor L. Bradford Prince, of New Mexico, and Dr. Willam M. Thornton, of Virginia. These addresses were of the unusual high quality to be expected from their authors, and delighted the audiences which listened to them. The Society hopes to be able to print them soon, and so insure for them a wide circle of readers and the permanent preservation which they merit. Since May 1st, the rooms of the Society have been opened to the

public upon every day of the week, and have attracted thousands of interested visitors.

The Exhibition of Jefferson Papers. The Society has had upon exhibition for some weeks a most remarkable collection of Jefferson Papers. There are several hundred letters from Jefferson, many letters to him, and a number of documents which are more or less closely connected with him and which were preserved by him. Among these latter there is the famous *subpoena duces tecum* which was served upon President Jefferson commanding him to produce certain papers at the trial of Aaron Burr, at Richmond, with a memorandum at the bottom signed by Burr, stating what would be satisfactory to him in the way of compliance with the *subpoena*. The letters written by Jefferson take in almost the whole period of his active life and are dated at Monticello, Philadelphia, Washington and Paris. One of them was written to Lafayette, many to other noted persons, and many to persons whose names have to us no significance. They cover the whole range of subjects in which Jefferson was interested, among which may be mentioned government, politics, science, Indians, history, taxation, books, wines, and personal matters. There are a number of letters relating to the southwest and the newly acquired territory of Louisiana. Among the letters written to Jefferson, there are several from St. Louis, signed by well known persons and ranging in subject from matters of governmental importance to expressions of good will and announcements of presents sent. There are two letters, one from Boston and one from Philadelphia, filled with gross personal abuse of the President because of the embargo. The only things in the exhibition aside from the Jefferson Papers is the letter from John Hancock, President of Congress, announcing to Washington his appointment

to command the Continental army, and a letter from Washington to General Sullivan, dated 1 Sept., 1788. A selection from the heretofore unpublished Jefferson Papers will be printed in a future issue of the COLLECTIONS. All of the papers included in the exhibition were loaned to the Society by President Bixby.

GIFTS: The Missouri Historical Society wishes to make grateful acknowledgment to its kind friends for their timely gifts.

Thanks are especially due to the St. Louis Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution for outfitting the *Auditorium*. The gift by the Chapter of mahogany chairs sufficient in number to fill the room, chairs which are comfortable to sit in as well as pleasing to look at, and also of folding chairs to fill the aisles and hall in case of need, of rugs for the floor and curtains for the windows, will always be most gratefully appreciated.

The Society gives its sincere thanks, also, to the following named persons:

To Mr. Arthur B. Barret for a portrait of his ancestor, Major William Christy; this admirable portrait was painted by Mrs. Barret (Adéle Hart).

To the Gerhart Sisters for a large number of magnificent photographs of American Indians, including one of the Apache Chief Geronimo; and of our Philippino fellow subjects. These photographs were made at the World's Fair in St. Louis.

To Mrs. James F. Ballard for three interesting letters from Jessie Benton Fremont, letters written by Mrs. Fremont to Mrs. Ballard.

To the Jefferson Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution for a coat of arms of Missouri,

carved in relief and done with technical heraldic accuracy.

To Mrs. Amelie Noel of Los Angeles, California, for a collection of interesting historical manuscripts, many written by her father, the late Judge Wilson Primm; and also for a scrap book containing addresses made by Judge Primm, many at meetings of this Society, and printed only in the newspapers, from which this scrap book was made.

To Mr. William Clark Breckenridge for a large number of books and pamphlets of great local interest.

To Mrs. Julia D. Taylor for a portrait of her father, the late John F. Darby, long a noted lawyer of St. Louis, who was Mayor, Representative in Congress, and writer, and won distinction in every field of his endeavor.

To Chester H. Kern, Esq., for a daguerreotype of a Missouri Confederate soldier—a sweet faced boy who to impress his sweet heart, for whom the picture was taken, had adorned himself with a specimen of every species of lethal weapon which the camp afforded.

Many other valuable gifts have been received which will be duly acknowledged later.

The Society's Need of Additional Members: The greatly increased expense incidental to the Society's occupation of its new home, and necessary to justify its use of public ground by efficient service rendered to the public, makes a material increase of income imperative. The one source of additional revenue which can be confidently relied upon is an increase in the number of its members. The total paying membership at the beginning of the year was less than four hundred. To do its work as it should be done, the Society should have a membership of not less than two thousand.

Since the beginning of the year, the following names have been added to the roll:

Mrs. William Barr, Orange, N. J., Life Member.
Mr. Joseph D. Bascom, St. Louis, Life Member.
Miss Mary Alicia Owen, St. Joseph, Mo., Life Member.
Mr. Judson S. Bemis, St. Louis, Sustaining Member.

And the following annual members:

Mr. Lloyd L. Adams,
Mr. Robert Enos Adreon,
Mr. Wm. E. Barns,
Mrs. Alfred Bradford,
Mr. James E. Brock,
Mr. G. F. A. Brueggeman,
Mr. William Burg,
Mr. Sam D. Capen,
Mrs. Horace R. Carpenter,
Mr. J. B. Chambers,
Mrs. Carrie Chappell,
Mr. R. S. Colnon,
Mr. D'Arcy Paul Cooke,
Mr. Samuel C. Davis,
Mr. Addison L. Day,
Mr. George P. Doan,
Mr. J. S. Dobyns,
Mr. M. M. Foster,
Mr. B. E. Henschen,
Mr. William J. Hiss,
Mr. Clarence H. Howard,
Mrs. Clarence H. Howard,
Mrs. Kate M. Howard,
Mr. Alphonso Howe,
Mr. Fritz Hueppner,
Dr. Charles H. Hughes,
Mr. Henry Ittleson,
Mr. J. D. Johnson,
Mrs. Paul Jones,
Mr. Homer P. Knapp,
Mr. William G. Lackey,
Mr. Everett B. Langenberg,
Mr. W. A. Layman,
Dr. John C. Lebrecht,
Mr. Isaac Lippincott,
Mr. H. B. Louderman,
Mr. W. McC. Martin,
Dr. W. H. Mayfield,
Mr. N. A. McMillan,
Mr. George R. Merrell,
Mr. Frank Mesker,
Mr. Elias Michael,
Mr. Edward A. More,
Mr. Henry Graves Noel,
Mr. Joseph M. O'Reilly,
Mr. E. J. Pearson,
Mr. H. J. Pettengill,
Mrs. Francis Raymond,
Mrs. John Rice,
Mr. John Lewis Robards (Hannibal),
Mr. A. H. Robbins,
Mrs. J. C. Roberts,
Mr. J. H. Roblee,
Mr. Frank A. Ruf,
Mr. A. M. Schayer,
Mr. R. W. Shapleigh,

Mr. S. L. Sherer,
Mr. George W. Simmons,
Mr. C. M. Skinner,
Mr. S. Watts Smyth,
Mr. T. E. Spencer,
Mr. W. C. Steigers,
Mr. William Stix,
Mr. R. H. Stockton,
Mr. Walter C. Taylor,
Mr. Edgar D. Tilton,
Miss Sarah L. Tower,
Mr. John R. Towler,
Dr. G. M. Tuttle,
Mr. Thomas H. West,
Mr. F. Churchill Whittemore,
Mr. B. S. Winchell,
Mr. John M. Wood,
Mr. Henry Wood.

The Jefferson Library: The Missouri Historical Society has undertaken to gather together a library of books and pamphlets relating to Jefferson. It is proposed to procure every thing obtainable written by Jefferson or about Jefferson. A good beginning has been made. There upon the shelves some dozen or more biographies of him, three different collections of his writings, many of his works in single volumes, and a large number of bound pamphlet essays and addresses of which he is the subject, some of which are laudatory and some abusive. The latest acquisition is a book on Jefferson's permanent influence on American Institutions by Senator John Sharp Williams, a collection of lectures delivered at Columbia University, which is an admirable piece of work. Members of the Society possessing books or pamphlets which should find a place in this collection, are requested to contribute.